

M E M O I R S
O F T H E
Lord Viscount DUNDEE,
T H E
H I G H L A N D - C L A N S,
A N D T H E
Massacre of GLENCO:
W I T H
An ACCOUNT of DUNDEE'S
Officers after they went to *France*,

By an OFFICER of the A R M Y.

*Non ille pro charis amicis
Aut patria timidus perire.*

Hor. Carm. Lib. 4. Ode 9.

*Quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando
Explicet* ————— Virg. Æneid. Lib. 2.

————— *series longissima rerum*
Per tot ducta viros ————— Virg. Æneid. Lib. 1.

L O N D O N:
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THE PREFACE.

Nothing but the Respect I bear to my Country, and the Injustice I see it suffer, both by *Party* and *National* Writers, could engage me to undertake so insuperable a Labour. The first write as they affect, with prepenesd Resolutions of doing no Justice, but heaping all Advantages on their own Party, and a Dash from their malicious Pen, can make *Glenlyon* that massacred *Glenco*, *Glenlyon* the *Sacred*. Every Day we see as great Contradictions in their scurrilous Papers which they scatter about, and their inflam'd Passions swell'd to that Pitch, that neither Church nor State, nor even the Queen Her Self is free from their Lashes. *The Queen is lash'd!*

As for *National* Historians, who are Aliens, and have no Interest in a Country, nor Love for it, they must have a natural Aversion to it, in many Respects, especially when its Vertue and Honour stand in Competition with theirs, and therefore are inclinable to misrepresent or eclipse the Heroick Actions of another Nation, and give them such a Turn in the Stile, that the Reader shall

shall not improve, nor the Country have any Credit by them. All Generals swallow up Particulars, and altho' of different Natures, often give them Tastes and Colours like themselves; as soon as Rivers enter the Ocean, they lose their fresh-water Taste, and Christalline Colours, and become green and saltish, by reason of the stronger Body that overcomes them; so *England* being richer and more powerful than Her Neighbours, gives better Encouragement to Hirelings and Scriblers, and consequently never want her Cause manag'd to the best Advantage, and oft to the Detriment of others, to make herself Glorious. When, on my Travels, I read the *English* News, and saw many Books published, it griev'd me exceedingly, to think that so much good and substantial History, that might be useful and honourable to Posterity, should be lost and buried in Oblivion: This is the only Argument that engaged me to lift myself in the Crowd. Histories are the Records of Honour, and of every thing that's Good and Great; The Life and Soul of Virtue and Religion, and, like a Microscope, magnify and illuminate all the Heroick Actions and Exploits of our Ancestors, and create in us an ambitious Emulation to excel them, or a modest Blush to conceal our own Imperfections. If any Man, for Reasons best known to himself, should decry my History, Why did he not write it? It is Twenty Years since the Things were transacted, and now is the Time or never. *Cum tua non edas, carpas mea Carmina noli.* A Servant that does his Duty, tho' with some Mistakes and Errors, is preferable to him that knows it better, but never endeavours any Performance. He's a
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brave Man that courts a Woman of Quality and Degree above himself, and who knows but he may gain her Affections; but he's timorous and faint-hearted that dares not address what he loves, and deserves no fine Mistress. This is my Comfort, what I write is my own, and there are many Eye-witnesses living to confirm it; neither can there be any History wrote of *Scotland*, for forty Years past, but what must be oblig'd to me, and I am oblig'd to no Man, except for the Account of the inhumane Massacre of *Glenco*, which has been privately handed about ever since a few Months after the barbarous Action, and I have taken it *verbatim* from the Original. What the learned Author of the three Volumes of *The History of England*, writes of *Scotland*, is so short and general, that no Man can improve by it, and what these ignorant *Party* Scriblers writ of King *James* and King *William's* Lives, are so false and byass'd, that they lead Men into gross Mistakes and Errors, and occasion many dangerous Disputes between the Readers and Witnesses. The Author of King *William's* Life impudently affirms, that the Lord Viscount *Dundee* had 6000 Men at *Gillicranky*, and that *Mackay* had 4000, whereas *Dundee* had but 2000, and *Mackay* above 6000, which many of both Kingdoms can testify. What is written of *Scotland*, is so much stain'd and tainted with an Antimonarchical and National Pencil, that it is not to be credited; every Man writing to satisfy the particular Gust and Relish of his own irregular Appetite and Party-Desire, without any Respect of Truth and Honour to their Neighbours.

I confess,

I confess, that if this substantial History, which I have comprehended in Seven Sheets, had been in some Mens Hands, and agreeable to their Humours, they would have swell'd them into Volumes, and have writ the Glorious Actions, perform'd by *Dundee* and the Clans, in Golden Letters; and repos'd them in all Colleges and Libraries, as Sacred and Divine; then we should have had nothing but Draughts and Landskips of *Gilliecrankies* and *Glencoes*, in all Noblemens and Gentlemens Parlours, with large Encomiums and Characters, to his Praise, confirm'd with full Glasses to his Memory: But his ill Fortune was, his Loyalty became a Crime! And he, who took the Sacrament in the Church of *England* two Days before he was kill'd, and all his Life-time was a strenuous Promoter of *Episcopacy* in *Scotland*, had the Misfortune to oppose the *Sacred Revolution*, whereby our *Laws*, *Liberties*, and *Religion* were Preserv'd. But we see Generals, with other Men have their different Fates; some die in Battle for their Honour, others fly their Country for their Treasure. *Dundee* and the Clans fought it bravely, and he died in the Field of Battle; *Glenco* and his Followers took the Oaths, became loyal and obedient Subjects, and liv'd peaceably and quietly under the establish'd Government; yet were inhumanly massacred: Now which had the best on't; *Dundee* and his Clans, for their Rebellion, or *Glenco* and his Followers, for their Loyalty? It will puzzle a Country Parson to resolve.

Whether was it better for Major General *Buchan* and *Cannin*, with their Officers, to go to *France*,
and

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and live sparingly on what their unfortunate Master K. *James* could allow them, or stay at Home, and live peaceably, and be *Glenco'd*.

Whether was it better for the *Scotch* Episcopal Clergy at the Revolution, to fly into *England* for Shelter and Succour, than stay in *Scotland*, and see their Wives and Children abus'd, their Houses plunder'd, and themselves *Glenco'd*. The ill Usage many met with in *Scotland*, made them *Jacobites* contrary to their Inclinations, and fly into *England*, e'en to *St. Germain's* itself, where they were kindly received and assisted by a distressed Prince, which gave them so deep a Tincture then, that it can't be wash'd off now.

Whether or no, in the late Government durst the disaffected Party assemble in *Mobs*, at *Charing-Cross*, with many of the King's Officers at their Heads, and amongst them, in Chairmen and Watermens Cloaths, and their Nobility, in *Chocolate* and *Coffee-houses*, inveighing against the King and Ministry, as some do at present, notwithstanding we have a gracious Queen, and a good Ministry, that have procured us a happy, and I hope a lasting Peace, and Thanks be to God, a Glorious and Unanimous Parliament, that appoints wholesome Laws for the Preservation of our Religion and Liberties.

But with profound Submission, Clemency in many Circumstances is a Crime, especially in Princes, when the Quiet and Safety of their Government is concern'd. There are some that maintain Hereditary Right to such a Degree, that

nothing but their Grandfathers Fates will satisfy them. It was an old Saying amongst the Cavaliers in *Scotland*, that *Whilst there is a C——ll or D——le in Power, a Stuart will never be safe on the Throne*; and King *Charles II.* used to say, when he heard of any Divisions, or Rebellions in *Scotland*, *He was sure there was a C——ll or D——le at the Bottom on't.* When the dry Bones of a loyal *Grabame* rattled in their Coffin, and called for Justice, and a Resurrection, it was full Time for some to think on a Maiden, and that Rebellion was a mortal Sin.

'Tis surprizing, that neither Example nor Experience can teach some restless Spirits their Duty, whose Desires, like the Graves, are never to be satisfy'd, and their ambitious Minds exceed all Limits of Reason and Discretion. In reading these Memoirs, you'll find all the paternal Care that could be used by Fathers and Kings, practis'd by King *Charles II.* and King *James II.* to reclaim the Presbyterians from their Rebellions. But the more Favours the Government heaped upon them, more stubborn and rebellious they were. King *Charles* gave them Churches of their own in several Shires in the Kingdom; and when they were not satisfied, connived at their Meetings in private Houses, till at last they kept their Conventicles amongst Rocks and Mountains, and preached Rebellion publicly, debauching the People from their Allegiance; and when *Clavers* received his Commission to march with his Horse and Dragoons to the Western Shires, to suppress them, it was always limited, and with a Caution from the Government, to use them mercifully, and

and that the neighbouring Gentlemen and Ministers should converse with them, give them their best Advice, and hear their Allegations. But nothing could prevail; all Admonition and Instruction to them was lost; for they turned from bad to worse. Several of them took Arms, and came privately in the Night to Ministers Houses, whom they plundered, and forced to swear they should never preach again, else they would murder them. They likewise plundered several Gentlemen's Houses, whom they knew to be for the Government, and murdered *Clavers's* Soldiers wherever they catch'd them. At this Time His Grace the Duke of York was in *Scotland*, who was concerned to hear of the Commotions and Troubles in the West, and ordered that some Prisoners should be brought to *Edinburgh* to be examined. Accordingly there were three sent, who were found so ignorant and simple on their Examinations, that his Grace gave Orders to set them at Liberty, upon Condition that they should say, *God save the King*; which they positively denied; then his Highness ask'd if there was a *Bedlam* in the Country to put them in, and declared, that if they were hang'd, it was his Opinion, their Blood was on the Nation: Notwithstanding, according to their Sentence of Condemnation, they were brought to the Place of Execution, and his Grace being uneasy, sent the Lord *Roscommon*, with a Pardon to them, who came close to the Scaffold, and (one of them being hang'd) made a handsome Speech to the other two, offering them their Pardon, if they would say, *God save the King*. The next to be hang'd, was *John Potter*, who seem'd to be in a Doubt,

and it was believ'd would have accepted of the Pardon, but his Wife took him by the Arm, and almost push'd him over the Ladder, and said, *Go die for the Good Old Cause, my Dear, see such a Man* (meaning the hang'd Man) *will sup this Night with Christ Jesus*: So in fine, the other two were hang'd, but what was the Woman's Design in having her Husband hang'd, surprized many.

At this Time, about thirty of those deluded People left their Families and Business, and went to the Hills, where they liv'd in Rocks and Caves for some Weeks. *John Gib*, Sailor in *Borowstownness*, *Walter Ker*, in *Trafritham*, — *Gemmison*, in *Linlithgow*, were their chief Leaders: They called themselves, *The Sweet Singers of Israel*, eat nothing that there was Salt in, or paid Tax to the King, blotted the Name of King out of their Bibles, and cohabited all together. When a Party of Dragoons took them at the *Ouffins*, in *Tweed-dale*, they were all lying on their Faces, and jumped up in a Minute, and called out with an audible Voice, *That God Almighty would consume the Party with Fire from Heaven, for troubling the People of God*. On the Road as they went to *Edinburgh*, when any of their Relations or Acquaintances came to visit them, they spit at them, and threw themselves on their Faces, and bellow'd like Beasts, whereof his Highness being informed, ordered them immediately to be set at Liberty.

At this Juncture of *Madness* in the *West of Scotland*, *Clavers* receiv'd his Orders to suppress them, which he manag'd with so great *Prudence*
and

and *Conduct*, that his Enemies both lov'd and fear'd him: His Friends applauded his Mercy and Tenderness to his Countrymen, many whereof, by his pathetick Advice and Instructions came over to the King's Party, and his Master amply rewarded his good Services, by conferring new Posts of Honour and Profits every Day upon him, whose Heroick Actions demonstrate his Love to his Country, and martial Spirit exceeds the Bounds of my Imagination to describe; therefore I refer you to the Learned Dr. *Pitcairn's* Character of him in the following Epitaph.

His

His Epitaph.

U Ltime Scotorum, potuit, quo sospite solo,
Libertas Patriæ salva fuisse tuæ :
Te moriente, novos accepit Scotia *Cives, Reges.*
Accepitque novos, Te moriente, Deos.
Illa nequit superesse Tibi, Tu non potes Illi,
Ergo Caledoniæ nomen inane, vale :
Tuque vale, Gentis priscae Fortissime Ductor,
Ultime Scotorum, ac ultime Grame, vale.

F ERGUS last Son, had Thou alone but liv'd;
Our Liberty and our Country had surviv'd :
But oh! Thou'rt gone, and Scotland find this Odds;
A King that's new, new Subjects, and new Gods.
In Thee we liv'd, in Thee we dy'd together ;
Scotland's vain Name, adieu, adieu for ever :
And fare Thou well, brave Prop of our old State,
Last Scot, last Grahame, and last of all was
Great.

His Epitaph.

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Throughout the ensuing History, for Strieveling, read Stirling; and for Didup, instead of two Miles, read about half a Mile above Dundee.

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# MEMOIRS

OF THE

Lord Viscount *DUNDEE*.



MEMOIRS, like Pictures, are expos'd to a double Censure. First from those who dislike the Principles of the Persons represented, and upon that Account, have conceiv'd a Dislike to all their Actions; and their Malice and Spleen rises in Proportion to the Merit they dislike: Some will accuse the Author of Flattery, and charge him with going beyond the Truth; others will cry he is a Party-man, and therefore not to be credited; and some Critical *Genii* will be offended at the Style for wanting Elegancy and the Embellishments of Rhetorick.

The other Censure is fasten'd upon him by the Ignorant, who have no Taste of Loyalty, nor Sense of Honour. If you tell them of loyal and heroick Actions, of enduring Hardships for their King and Country, they look upon you as one that has a Design of imposing upon them, and your History passeth with them for no better than Romance, and the meer Coinage of Mens Brains.

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My *Memoirs* are designed for neither of these, tho' they both have the Liberty to peruse them, to grind their Teeth, chew them, and swallow them; and I wish they may give them a loyal Purge, and carry off all antimonarchical and factious Principles.

Two Sorts of Men are invited to read my *Memoirs*: The First are all honest and loyal Subjects to the Queen, who will find them adapted to their Genius, and confirming their Allegiance to the Government.

The Other are those worthy and honourable Gentlemen, who have loyal Principles in their Hearts, but are under the sad Necessity of concealing them, by reason of their Dependence on some of the *Anti-Stuartan* Families, and Supplies from ignominious Coffee-Wenchies, are therefore oblig'd to frequent some Assemblies, where nothing but Treasons are hatch'd, and Invectives belch'd out against Her Majesty and the Ministry. These Gentlemen I desire to read the following *Memoirs*, in which they'll learn their Duty to Her Majesty, without whose immediate Benovolence, they can have no Means of subsisting; and their Demeanour to the Ministry, whose prudent Conduct has settled a Fund for their Support, and procur'd a glorious Peace, and will improve it into a compleat Blessing, by an open Trade, and Increase of Treasure, if we'll allow them time for so great a Work, and in the mean while live quietly and peaceably amongst ourselves.

*John Grabame* of *Claver-house* in *Angus* in *Scotland*, descended from the honourable Family of *Morphy* in *Merns*, a Branch of the noble and loyal Family of *Montrose*: His Ancestors were always



ways eminent for Valour and Loyalty, and were never backward in shewing their Affection and Loyalty to the Royal Family, when either of these were needful.

This worthy Gentleman, with the happy Advantages of an hereditary Loyalty, and a liberal Education in *Humanity*, and the *Mathematicks*, in which he made a very considerable Progress, to qualify himself for the Service of his King and Country, travell'd into *France*, where he spent some time in the *French* Service, as a Volunteer, with great Reputation and Applause. For his farther Improvement, he went from thence to *Holland*, where his early Inclination to Arms recommended him to the Prince of *Orange*, who made him Cornet of one of his own Troops of Guards, which Post soon gave him an Opportunity of shewing himself to the World. For at the Battle of *St. Nuff*, 1674, when the Prince of *Orange* was dismounted, and in great Danger of being taken, he rescued him, and brought him off upon his own Horse. His Highness requited this brave Action, by making him Captain of one of his Troops of Guards. This, together with his other distinguishing Merits, recommended him to the Favour of King *Charles* and the Duke of *York*, and made him as universally fear'd as known by his Enemies. One of the *Scotch* Regiments in *Holland*, becoming vacant, his Interest with the Court of *England*, and the Prince of *Orange's* Promises for Services perform'd, encouraged him to stand Candidate for the Regiment, which a *Dutch* Interest carry'd against him. He resent'd this Affront so highly, as to leave the *Dutch* Service, and return to *Scotland* 1677, where King *Charles II.* rais'd a Regiment of Foot, and three

independent Troops of Horse, the first of which he gave to Captain *John Grahame* of *Claver-house*. About which time, those turbulent People, the *Whigs*, began to keep their Conventicles in the West of *Scotland*, and frequent them with Horse and Arms, in an insolent and open Defiance of the peaceable and tender Government, who were oblig'd to send *Clavers* with his own Troop, and some others of Dragoons, to suppress their factious Meetings; which he endeavoured with all possible Prudence and Civility, but without Success. He convers'd with some of their Ministers and leading Men, and represented to them the Danger they expos'd themselves to, by disturbing so indulgent a Government; and at the same time advised them to make their Application to His Majesty, who would be sure to grant them their Requests as far as reasonable: But they were too obstinate to condescend to his Advice. He often imposed Fines and Mulcts on them, to frighten them into their Allegiance, but never exacted one Farthing: No Arguments of Religion or Reason, cou'd possibly prevail with them, but they still presumptuously advanced, and boldly increased their rebellious Meetings, and often opposed the King's Troops, when they gently endeavoured to disperse them; and at last grew so very impudent, as to hold their Meetings in the very Face, and under the Nose of the King's Garrisons.

The first Act of Rebellion they committed, was at *White-kirk-hill*, in *East Lothian*, in View of the *Bass*. Near twelve Hundred of the *Whigs* assembled; and Mr. *Charles Maitland*, Governour of the *Bass*, went a-shore with twelve Men, and earnestly intreated them to disperse, and not to hold

hold their Meetings in Sight of the King's Garrison, it being contrary to the establish'd Laws of the Nation. They immediately assaulted him and his Men, kill'd one, and wounded the rest, himself very narrowly escaping. Yet the Government was so merciful, that only one *Learmont* a Pedlar was executed at *Edinburgh* for the Murder, tho' several others were known to be equally guilty.

The next Murder that blood-thirsty and wicked People committed (to the eternal Shame and Sorrow of their Country) was on the Body of Dr. *James Sharp* Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, and Primate of *Scotland*, on the Third of May, 1679. His Grace returning Home in his Coach with his Daughter, about three Miles from *St. Andrews*, was assaulted by nine Ruffians, who cut the Traces of the foremost Horses, wounded the Postilion, and imperiously commanded the Archbishop to come out of his Coach, who immediately comply'd, and earnestly implor'd the Liberty to say his Prayers. The Ruffians objected, he had frequently prevented their Prayers, and instantly three of them kill'd him, by giving him many Wounds in the Head and Body; and that the other six might be equally guilty in the execrable Action, they cut him, when dead, in several Parts of his Head and Body: They also maltreated his Daughter, for dutifully offering to assist her Father.

The flagitious Villains were so steel'd in their Wickedness, that at *Drum-Clog*, and *Bothwell-bridge*, they publicly own'd the Murder, and wickedly glory'd in it. Only one of them, *Haxton* of *Ratbellit*, was apprehended at *Airs-moss*, and hang'd at *Edinburgh*. The rest fled to *Holland*,

land, that common Sanctuary, of *British* Rebels and Murderers; and on the Prince of *Orange's* Arrival in *England*, Dr. *Fleeming*, one of the Assassins, who came over with him, publickly appear'd every Day on the *Royal-Exchange*, and practis'd Physick in *London* many Years, without ever being arraign'd for so inhuman and barbarous a Murder.

After this bloody Fact they kept their Meetings in great Numbers, and well arm'd, and were often too strong for the few regular Troops under the Command of *Clavers*. On the first of *June* 1678, three Thousand *Whigs* assembled at *Drum-Clog* in the Shire of *Air*, many of them well arm'd: Whereof *Clavers* being inform'd, march'd towards them with his own Troop, and forty Dragoons, and attack'd them in a Bog, where the *Whigs* behav'd themselves very desperately, kill'd twenty-seven of his Troopers and Dragoons, as also his Cornet, one of his own Name, and a Relation; and imagining him to be *Clavers*, they barbarously thrust many Swords into his dead Body, and beat his Head into a Jelly.

*Clavers* very providentially escaped, by dismounting one of his Trumpeters, when his own Horse's Guts were cut out with a Sythe. The *Whigs*, that Night, at *Streven* in *Clidsdale*, murdered all their Prisoners, and *Clavers* was oblig'd to retreat to *Glasgow*, where my Lord *Ross* lay with two Regiments of Foot, and there my Lord *Ross* and *Clavers* barricado'd all the Lanes and Streets in the Town, where the next Day they were boldly, tho' disorderly, attack'd by four Thousand *Whigs*, who with great Loss were repuls'd out of *Glasgow*; whence returning three Miles off, to *Shawhead Moor*, they were there join'd.



join'd by others to the Number of sixteen Thousand Men.

Upon which my Lord *Ross* and *Clavers* thought fit to retreat to *Striveling*, to join the rest of the King's Forces there. Which Retreat, with the Success the Rebels had in their Skirmish at *Drum-Clog*, encourag'd them to declare an open Rebellion, and a Defiance of the King's Troops at *Bothwell-Bridge*.

On the Tenth of *June* 1679, *Clavers* with forty Horse, and forty Dragoons, surpriz'd at *Bewly-Bog*, above three Hundred and fifty Rebels well arm'd, going to join their main Body near *Bothwell-Bridge*, kill'd seventy five, and took many Prisoners.

About this time, the Earl of *Linlithgow* was created Major-General in the Place of Sir *George Monro*, and had gathered all the standing Troops of the Nation together at *Falkirk*; where he was joyned by my Lord *Ross*, and *Clavers*. His Army consisted of One Troop of Horse Guards, Two Regiments of Foot, Three Independent Troops of Horse, and Three Troops of Dragoons, with which he marched to *Glasgow* to suppress the Rebels: But when he came to *Inch-belly Bridge*, near *Kylfith*, he received Orders from the Privy Council, to return back to *Edinburgh* with all the King's Forces, which very much surpriz'd all the Officers of the Army, and more particularly *Clavers*, who offered, with a Thousand Horse and Foot, to disperse the Rebels, or never to return himself alive. But the Earl of *Linlithgow's* Orders from the Privy Council were so positive and binding, that he durst not hazard it, but returned back to *Edinburgh*; which so encouraged the Rebellious *Whigs*, that they flock'd together in Shoals,  
and

and form'd a Camp in *Bothwel Moor*, about Six Miles towards the *East* of *Glasgow*, and Two Miles towards the *West* of *Hamilton*, where they encamp'd until they were dispers'd by the King's Forces.

Neither was the King and Government idle, in this unlucky Juncture, for they rais'd all the Militia in the Kingdom, and call'd in two Regiments of Dragoons, Commanded by Colonel *Oglethorpe*, and Major *Main*, then at Summer Quarters in the *North* of *England*, to their Assistance: Then all the Forces march'd from *Edinburgh* on *Monday*, and on *Tuesday* to *Kirk-bill Park*, which is about nine Miles, and the next Day to *Moor-Head*. On *Tuesday*, His Grace the Duke of *Monmouth* came to *Edinburgh*, and on *Thursday* he join'd the Army, and on *Saturday* at Night, or rather *Sunday* Morning, being the 22d of *June*, 1679. His Grace marched with his Army to *Bothwel Bridge*, where twelve Thousand Rebels were encamp'd. The Duke, by his Majesty's Special Commission, offer'd them every Third Church in the Kingdom, with many other Privileges, providing they would lay down their Arms, and return home to their respective Dwellings, and live quietly under the Government.

The obstinate Rebels refus'd all the Royal Mercies propos'd them, so that immediately a Party of Dragoons were order'd to advance near the Bridge, with two Pieces of Cannon, which beat down their Barricadoes on the middle of the Bridge. The King's Army march'd along the Bridge, and having fir'd four Field Pieces at the Rebels Horse, they all fled, and left their Foot at the Mercy of the Duke and his Army. There were about fifteen Hundred Prisoners taken, and they

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they own'd there was a greater Number kill'd on the Spot. *Drum-Clog*, and the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*' Murder. were sufficiently reveng'd that Day; and if *Clavers* and *Oglethorp* had been left to their own Discretion, they had put an End to that rebellious Crowd, and purg'd the Nation of much superfluous and corrupted Blood.

After the Defeat the Rebels receiv'd at *Bothwell-Bridge*, according to their innate Principles, they still continued rebellious in the West of *Scotland*, which oblig'd the Government to send *Clavers* to *Galloway*, with a Party of Horse and Dragoons, to suppress their rebellious Assemblies, who acted with so much Discretion and Prudence, sometimes threatening them with the Rigour of the Law, at other times using them with unexpected and undeserved Clemency, that in a great Measure he gain'd the Affections of both the Gentry and Commons of that Country. He was not covetous; for tho' he fin'd them according to Law, he always forgave them, on Condition they would go to Church, submit themselves to the Government, and live peaceably at Home. But his Dragoons were the only Medicines to be apply'd to their Distempers, and made them more tractable than all the Advice he could give them. For,

On the Seventeenth of *July*, 1680, about three Hundred *Banditti* of the *Whigs*, gathered together near *Airs-moss*, in the Shire of *Air*; *Earls Hall*, *Clavers*'s Lieutenant, having received Information, march'd immediately with eighty Horse and Dragoons to disperse them; who, as soon as the King's Troops appeared, retreated to the Moss, fought it desperately, and kill'd seventeen of the King's Troops; but at last were defeated, and many of them killed. The famous Minister *Cam-*

ron, and his Brother were both killed ; and *Haxton* of *Bathellit*, one of the Murderers of the Bishop of *St. Andrews*, was taken. This was the last actual Rebellion they committed in *K. Charles II's* Time, tho' they had many private Meetings, which *Clavers* suppress'd with so much Prudence and Tenderneſs, that the good Character he receiv'd from his Enemies as well as his Friends, oblig'd King *Charles* to create him a Privy-Counsellor ; and it was observ'd, that in all his Undertakings he was as successful as bold ; for tho' my Lord *Aberdeen's* Learning and Politicks recommended him to King *Charles* and the Duke of *York*, yet *Clavers* turn'd him out of Favour, and was a great Instrument of the Earl of *Perth's* Advancement.

At a Circuit Court at *Dumfreis*, some Mistakes happened between *Queensberry* and *Clavers*, which oblig'd *Clavers* to leave the Circuit, and in one Day, when the Ground was covered with Snow, he rode from *Dumfreis* to *Edinburgh*, which is above sixty long Miles, the next Day he took Journey for *London*, and was there when King *Charles* dy'd, and at King *James's* Accession to the Crown, he joining with *Perth* and *Melford*, they turned *Queensberry* out of Favour.

About this time the *Whigs* began to renew their Rebellions in *Galloway*, where they murdered the Minister of *Crefern* in his Bed, and coming afterwards to *Kirkenbright*, kill'd a poor Man there who was one of the Centries on the *Tollbooth*, only for challenging them, *Who comes there?* About six Miles from *Kirkenbright*, *Clavers*, with some Horse and Dragons, attack'd that Party of Rebels that murdered the Minister, chased them into a Bog, kill'd seven or eight of them, and took some Prisoners,



## Lord Viscount DUNDEE. 11

Prisoners, who told him the Murderer of the Minister lay dead on the Spot.

This is all I can observe transacted between *Clavers* and the Rebels in King *Charles* the Second's Time, except some barbarous Murders committed by the Rebels on *Clavers's* Soldiers, whereof there are now living many Eye-Witnesses, both in *England* and *Scotland*.

*William Cunningham* and *Andrew Cleveland*, two Dragoons going out of *Cumlock*, in the Shire of *Air*, were set upon by seven Country Fellows out of a Wood; *Cunningham* was murdered, and at the Intercession of some Gentlewomen, *Cleveland* was sav'd.

*Oliphant* and his Comarade, two Dragoons quarter'd in the Parish of *New-Milns* in the Shire of *Air*, were both murdered by the *Whigs* on a Sunday Morning, as they went to their Conventicle. A glorious Work before Prayers!

*Irwin*, a Dragoon, was kill'd between *Douglas* and *Lanrick*, by a Man and a Woman who went along the Road with him, until they came to a Pass; the Man threw him off his Horse, and the Woman kill'd him with his own Sword.

*Flesher*, a Trooper, coming home to his Troop in *Clyds-dale*, was murdered by six *Whigs*, thrown in a River, and found six Weeks afterwards.

Two Troopers, who went out of the Garrison of *Blaban*, in the Shire of *Air*, in the Evening, to walk, were both shot from the Wood by the *Whigs*.

A single Dragoon coming into a Publick House to ask the Way to *Blaban*, a Woman spinning on her Distaff, told him she would shew him, and instead thereof, immediately call'd six or seven Men, and murdered the Dragoon.

At *Entricken Hill*, some *Whigs*, hid in *Bushes*, shot two of a Party of *Dundee's Horse* as they pass'd that Way.

At *Swine Abbey* in *Linlithgow Shire*, *James Carmichall*, Laird of *Little Blackburn*, with a Party of about 50 *Whigs*, murdered Captain *Duncan Stuart*, and Captain *Thomas Kennuay*, both Gentlemen in the King's Horse-Guards; and when several of the Murderers were taken, the Government was so merciful, as to offer them their Lives, if they would but acknowledge, that it was a Murder, tho' they did not confess themselves to be the Murderers; and moreover say, *God save the King*, which they obstinately chose rather to be hang'd, than say. So if ever that Party be in Power, we see what Monarchy and Episcopacy may expect. This *James Carmichall* of *Little Blackburn*, some Years after he was married, got two Women with Child, and when they told him of their Misfortunes, he appointed them separately to meet him at a private Place, where he murdered them both, and threw them into a Coal-Pit. Some Weeks afterwards he fell sick, and confess'd the Murder both of the Captains and the Women, and gave his Confession in Writing under his Hand. Afterwards he recovered, and liv'd many Years in King *William's* Reign without ever being question'd for the Murders, because he was a holy Brother.

At *Bella Path* near *Cumlock* in the Shire of *Air*, the *Whigs* took one *Houfhou* a Prisoner, from a small Party of Horse, commanded by Mr. *James Affleck*, and kill'd three of his Party. And to foment our Rebellions in *Scotland*, much about the time these Murders were committed,

*Argyle* sail'd from *Ulye* in *Holland* on the Second,

cond of May 1685, with three Ships, one of 30, one of 12, and one of 6 Guns, and twenty Boats. On the Fifth of May he appear'd before the Isles of *Orkney*, and sent his Steward, Mr. *Spence*, and his Surgeon ashore, who were both apprehended by the Inhabitants, and sent Prisoners to the Privy-Council at *Edinburgh*. *Argyle* not finding that Encouragement in the *Orkney* and other Islands, and in the North of *Scotland*, he expected, sail'd to the Western Parts of that Kingdom, and landed at *Dunstaffnage* Castle in *Lorn*, where he left a strong Garrison, and march'd further into the Country, and there he published his rebellious Declarations and Manifesto's, which no Man took Notice of but his own Friends and Followers. Afterwards he marched into *Kintire* with three Troops of Horse, and about eight Hundred Foot, and from thence to *Tarbot*, where he was joined by two Hundred *Ely* Men: His Ships and Boats came round, and were attending his Orders in the Offing of *Kintire*: There he went aboard, and sail'd to the Isle of *Boot*; where he himself landed, and marched to *Rothsey* in the Isle of *Boot*; and finding no Encouragement, returned to his Ships, and sail'd to *Cowel* in *Argyle* Shire, designing to bring in his Ships to *Lochfin*: But hearing of two of the King's Men of War, viz. the *Kings-fisher* and the *Falcon*, coming about in Search of his Ships, he fortify'd a small Castle call'd *Allengreg*, and an adjacent Rock, in which he put his Arms, Ammunition, and Artillery, and left one Hundred and fifty Men to defend the Castle and Ships, and then marched to the Head of *Lochfin*.

On the 11th of June, the Marquess of *Atbol* having three Hundred of the King's Troops under his

his Command, engaged about four Hundred Foot, and one Hundred Horse of *Argyle's* Rebels, kill'd many of them, and put them to the Rout, which obliged *Argyle* to make a Counter-March to *Al-lengreg* Castle, where he stay'd till the 15th of *June*: Then he march'd with about six Thousand Men to *Lenox* in *Dumbarton* Shire, and thence to *Kellern*, within four Miles of *Dumbarton*, where my Lord *Dumbarton*, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Troops, was within three Miles of *Argyle's* Army: And *Argyle* seeing *Dumbarton's* Army so numerous and well marshalled, at Night made Fires over all his Camp, and by the Light of them, decamp'd and dispers'd all his People to their respective Habitations; and never any of them appear'd in a Body again, except about an Hundred and fifty, commanded by Sir *John Cochran*, posted within Stone-Walls at *Moordyke*, where they were attack'd by my Lord *Ross*, who commanded an Hundred Horse and Dragoons: In the Attack, my Lord *Ross* lost Captain *Cleveland*, and six or seven Dragoons, but killed many of the Rebels, and put them to a total Rout; and this was all the Loss that *Scotland* suffer'd by *Argyle's* Invasion. His Lordship was taken by a private Trooper in the Water of *Inchinnin*, brought Prisoner to *Glasgow*, and from thence to *Edinburgh*, by a Party of the King's Horse-Guards, and the *Midlothian* Gentlemen. They made his Lordship come out of his Coach at the *Water-gate*, and with a Halter about his Neck, led by the Hangman, walk up the *Cannongate*, *High-Town*, and into the Castle; and on the first of *June*, his Lordship was beheaded at the Cross of *Edinburgh*.

All this Time my Lord *Dundee* was on the Borders of *Scotland*, with some Troops of Horse

to



to prevent all Insurrections, and Communications between *Monmouth* and *Argyle*, and there was nothing more worthy our Observation transacted in *Scotland*, during King *James's* Reign, till the Revolution, when the *Scots* Troops march'd into *England*: But after the Dissolution of King *James's* Army in *Salisbury* Plain, he returned back to *Scotland*, where the Convention of Estates sat at *Edinburgh*.

Nov. 9th, 1688. The *Whigs* in the *West* of *Scotland*, without any Commission or Order, came in Herds to *Edinburgh*, to guard the Convention; and not being unprovided of their essential Qualities, Malice and Revenge; no Man that had serv'd in King *Charles* the Second or King *James's* Reigns, was safe in the Streets. These Things, with some other Proceedings of the Convention, and private Designs against my Lord Viscount *Dundee*, oblig'd his Lordship to leave the Convention and City of *Edinburgh*: He took about thirty Horse with him, and went down *Leithwind*, and along the Way, called the *Lang-gate*. He halted his Party over against the Castle near the *West-Kirk*, and went by himself up to the Castle Wall, where he had half an Hour's Conference with his Grace the Duke of *Gordon*, and afterwards returned to his Party, and that Night went to *Linlithgow*. What Discourse his Grace the Duke of *Gordon* and *Dundee* had together, is not known to many; but 'tis evident from the Consequences of *Dundee's* Affairs in the *Highlands*, that if his Grace had left the Government of the Castle to his Lieutenant Governour *Windrom*, and gone to the *Highlands* with my Lord *Dundee*, and there rais'd his Clans, it wou'd have tended more to King *James's* Interest.

But

But Men of great Estates don't like to run great Hazards.

*Dundee* went to *Linlithgow* the first Night, after he left *Edinburgh*; and the next Day he pass'd *Striveling* Bridge, and went to his own House at *Diddup*, near *Dundee*, where he stay'd some Days. Afterwards he was pursu'd by General *Mackay*, with fifteen Troops of Horse, through *Pertshire*, *Angus*, *Aberdeenshire*, *Buchan*, *Bamff*, *Murray*, and *Nern*; and on the first of May 1689, *Dundee*, with 150 Horse, join'd *Mackdonald* of *Keappoch*, who lay before *Inverness* with 900 Men, forcing them to perform their Allegiance to King *James*, who, eight Days before my Lord's Arrival, had proclaimed the Prince of *Orange*, King; and for some other unneighbourly Practices of the Town of *Inverness*, and the *Mackintoshs*, against *Keappoch's* People, when he and his Brother were in *Ireland* with King *James*. But Family Quarrels being no Part of my History, I decline them.

The Town of *Inverness* gave *Keappoch* 2000 Dollars to be gone: *Dundee* mildly compos'd all their Disputes, and shew'd himself so generous a Peace-maker, that he gave his Bond for the Money. Afterwards *Dundee* sent friendly for *Mackintosh*, to reconcile him and *Keappoch* together, who deny'd coming to his Lordship, tho' they were Relations. Upon which, *Dundee* ordered *Keappoch* to drive away *Mackintosh's* Cattle, some of which were kept for the Service of the Army, and the rest were sent to *Keappoch's* Tenants. Then *Dundee* march'd to *Keappoch*, and stay'd six Weeks; and from thence, privately, with 150 Horse, to *Pertb*, where early in the Morning he took the Lairds of *Blair* and *Pog* Prisoners, 30 Horses, and 9000 Marks of the King's Cess and Excise.

Excise. Then he march'd to *Dundee*, where the Citizens shut the Gates, and deny'd him Entrance. From thence he went to his own House, *Diddup*, two Miles from *Dundee*, and tarry'd two Nights with his Lady. He returned to *Keappoch*, where he remain'd six Weeks; and from thence marched with 1500 Foot and 200 Horse, to *Badinock*, against General *Mackay*, and the Laird of *Grant*, who had about 6000 Men, and chased them Day and Night till they pass'd *Strabogy*, where he encamped three Days at *Edinglassy*. On the fourth Day he received Intelligence, that Sir *John Lanneer's* Regiment of Horse, a Regiment of Dragoons, *Ramsay's* Regiment, and other two Regiments of Foot, had joined General *Mackay*, which obliged him to retreat to *Keappoch*, where he remained six Weeks, till he was joined by the Honourable Sir *Donald of the Isles*, with 500 Men, who by reason of an Indisposition, was oblig'd to return home, but left his Son young Sir *Donald*, with my Lord *Dundee*. Then his Lordship appointed all the Clans, with their Friends and Followers, to meet him at the *Blair of Athol* the next *Tuesday*, and that himself, the Honourable Sir *Alexander Mackdonald of Glengary*, Sir *John Macklane*, young Sir *Donald of the Isles*, the Captain of *Clan Ranald* and Sir *Hugh Camron of Lacheil*, would go and raise the *Badinock* and *Athol* Men against that Day; but his Lordship marching to *Dalnamin*, on the Braes of *Athol*, on *Tuesday* Night, hearing that General *Mackay* was come to *Perth*, which oblig'd his Lordship to hasten his March to the *Blair of Athol*, where he arriv'd on *Saturday* the 13th of *June*, 1689, at Twelve o'Clock. In the Afternoon his Lordship's Spies returned, and told him, that General *Mackay* with his Army,

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consisting

consisting of nine Regiments of Foot, and two Troops of Horse, were marching thro' the Pass of *Gillicrankie*; on hearing that Intelligence, my Lord *Dundee* immediately march'd his Army, consisting of 1800 Foot and 45 Horse, to the Hills on the *North* Side of the *Water Tumble*, where General *Mackay's* Army appeared to be marshalled in one Line, and three Men in a File, in a young bushy Wood, having a Plain before them, and a Plain at the Foot of the little Hills behind them, near the River *Tumble*.

The Clans earnestly intreated *Dundee* not to engage in Person, and told his Lordship their Method of Fighting was quite different from that of regular Troops; again desired him to consider, that if he should be kill'd, King *James's* Interest would be lost in *Scotland*: But no Argument could dissuade him from engaging at the Head of his Troops. General *Mackay's* Army out-winged *Dundee's* near a Quarter of a Mile, which obliged the Clans to leave large Intervals between each Clan; and by declining towards the Wings, they wanted Troops to charge the Center, where a Detachment of *Lesly* and *Hastings English* Regiments were. The *Highlanders* threw away their Plads, Haversacks, and all other Utensils, and marched resolutely and deliberately in their Shirts and Doublets, with their Fusils, Swords, Targets, and Pistols ready, down the Hill on the Enemy, and received *Mackay's* third Fire, before they pierced his Line, in which many of the *Highland* Army fell, particularly the Lord Viscount *Dundee*, their General; the Terror of the *Whigs*, the Supporter of King *James*, and the Glory of his Country. Then the *Highlanders* fir'd, threw down their Fusils, rushed in upon the Enemy, with Sword, Target



Lord Dundee thus addressed  
his ~~off~~ troops previous to the  
fatal battle of Killcrankie.

"You are come hither this day  
to fight and that in the best  
of causes: for it is the battle of your  
king, your religion, & your country,  
against the foulest usurpation  
& rebellion. Having therefore so  
great a cause in your hands,  
I doubt not but it will inspire  
you with an equal courage to  
maintain it; for there is no  
proportion between treason  
& loyalty, nor should there be  
any betwixt the valour of good  
subjects & traitors. Remember  
that to day begins the fate  
of your King, your religion,  
& your country. Behave yourselves

therefore, like true Scotchmen, & let us  
by this action redeem the credit of  
this nation, that is laid low by the  
mischances & cowardice of some of our  
countrymen, in w<sup>ch</sup> I ask nothing  
of you that you shall not see me  
do before you. And if any of us shall  
fall on this occasion, we shall have  
the honour of dying in our duty, and  
as becomes true men of valour and of  
conscience; and such of us as shall  
live & win the battle, shall have  
the reward of a gracious king,  
and the praise of all good men.  
In God's name then let us go on,  
and let this be your word,  
King James and the Church  
of Scotland, which God long  
preserve".

Jward's "Biographiana"  
vol: 2<sup>d</sup> pp. 531-2.

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Target and Pistol, who did not maintain their Ground two Minutes after the *Highlanders* were amongst them; and I dare be bold to say, there were scarce ever such Strokes given in *Europe*, as were given that Day by the *Highlanders*. Many of General *Mackay's* Officers and Soldiers were cut down thro' the Skull and Neck, to the very Breasts; others had Skulls cut off above their Ears like Night-Caps; some Soldiers had both their Bodies and cross Belts cut thro' at one Blow; Pikes and Small-Swords were cut like Willows; and whoever doubts of this, may consult the Witnesses of the Tragedy.

The Detachments of *Hastings* and *Lesly's* Regiments, maintained their Ground till it was Night, because *Dundee* wanted Troops to charge them, and as they marched through the Pass of *Gilliecranky*, they were so furiously attack'd by the *Albol* Men on the Front, and by the *Highlanders* that had been in the Battle, on the Rear, that every Man of them were either taken Prisoners or killed.

In the Battle the *Highlanders*, besides their unparallel'd General *Dundee*, lost the brave *Pitcur*, who like a moving Castle in the Shape of a Man, threw Fire and Sword on all Sides against his Enemy. Colonel *Gilbert Ramsey*, *Mackdonald of Largo*, his Tutor and all his Family; *Glengarry's* Brother, and many of his Relations; and five Cousin Germans of *Sir Donald of the Isles*, with many private *Highlanders*.

General *Mackay* lost his Brother Colonel *Mackay*, Colonel *Balfour*, with about 2000 Officers and Soldiers, and was beat quite out of the Field, himself very narrowly escaping with about 20 Horse.

The first Officer that left his Post, in *Mackay's* Army, was the Lord *Leven*: The Glistering and Clashing of the *Highland* Mens Swords and Targets, scar'd his Horse so much, that he run six Miles before he cou'd draw Bridle, which the brave *Pittarthy* can witness. No doubt, if Her Majesty had been rightly inform'd of his Care of the Castle of *Edinburgh*, where there was not ten Barrels of Powder, when the Pretender was on the Coast of *Scotland*, and of his courteous Behaviour to the Ladies; particularly, how he whipp'd the Lady *Morton-Hall*, but she wou'd have made him General for Life.

After the Battle, *Dundee's* and *Pitcur's* Corpse were intomb'd in the Church of the *Blair of Athol*; and the next Day Major-General *Cannin*, who commanded the *Highlanders*, march'd to *Dunkeld*, where he stay'd two Days to refresh his Troops, and was join'd by the Steward of *Appin*, the *Mackgregors*, and the whole County of *Athol*. From thence he march'd to the Braes of *Mar*, where the *Farquharsons*, *Keappoch*, young *Lacheil*, *Frazers*, *Gordons* of *Stradown*, *Glenlevet*, and two Hundred *Mackfarsins* join'd him. Then he march'd to *Kildrummy*, where they were join'd with three Hundred Horse; and thence marching to the Castle of *Achnodown*, he received Intelligence, that General *Mackay* with his Army, was six Miles from them, at the Castle of *Strabogy*.

At the Castle of *Achnodown*, Major-General *Cannin* received Orders from King *James* in *Ireland*, to march to *Argyle* Shire and *Kintire*. His Majesty knowing well the innate rebellious Spirit of those Shires, thought it expedient to suppress them first. A Council of War was call'd at *Achnodown* Castle, where it was argu'd, whether the

Low-



Low-Country Officers should sit in that Council of War. The *Highlanders* were of Opinion they should not, because they had no Troops under their immediate Command; and they neither knew their Method of Discipline, nor Way of Fighting. Major-General *Cannin*, with the noble Earl of *Damferling*'s Interest, carry'd it against the Clans, that the Low-Country Officers should sit in the Council of War, where the Disputes and Controversies amongst them, contributed very much to the Detriment of King *James*'s Interest in the *Highlands*.

The Clans were for fighting General *Mackay* immediately, and placing Garrisons in the Castle of *Strabogy*, *Gordon Castle*, *Elgin*, *Forres*, *Nern*, and *Inverness*; and afterwards to march through *Lochabar* into *Argyleshire* and *Kintire*. But it was carry'd against the Clans, that the Army should march, without fighting General *Mackay*, through *Aberdeenshire*, and over the *Carna-mount*; over the Hills of *Merns* and *Anguis*, till they came to *Dunkeld*, where my Lord *Anguis*'s Regiment lay in Garrison, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel *Clieland*; and though that Regiment had the Advantage of Walls, Hedges, Ditches, Houses, and the like, the *Highlanders* beat them from their advanced Posts, out of the Town, where they were well covered, and from the Town into the Marquess of *Atbol*'s House, which is a very strong Garrison, where they kill'd the Lieutenant-Colonel and Major, and many other Officers and Soldiers. The *Highlanders* suffered a very considerable Loss.

Major-General *Cannin* march'd with his Army from *Dunkeld*, to the *Blair of Atbol*, where he stay'd six Days. That Winter Major-General  
*Buckan*,

*Buchan*, the Lord *Seaforth*, Colonel *Brown*, and some other Officers, came from King *James* in *Ireland*, to Sir *Donald of the Isles*; and *Buchan*, by his Commission, being eldest Major-General, commanded the Army, and desired each Clan to give him 100 Men, promising with them to raise the Low-Countries. The Clans gave him 1500 Men, with whom he march'd from *Keappoch* to *Kilwhinnin*, at the End of *Lochness*; thence over *Strathspey*, and stay'd on the North Side of the River ten Days. From thence he march'd to *Culmakill*, where he call'd a Council of War to determine his next Day's March; and it was unanimously agreed, that they should march the next Day to the Woods of *Glenlocky*; but Major-General *Buchan* march'd down the River of *Spey* to *Crumbdale*, though all the Clans positively protested against that March.

On *May* 1st, Major-General *Buchan* had about 1500 Men at *Crumbdale*, lodg'd in Villages round the Country, and his Advanc'd Guards advantageously posted, when the want of Intelligence, and the Negligence of two Captains, *Brody* and *Grant*, each of them commanding 100 Men at the Church, on the River *Spey*, suffer'd Sir *Thomas Livingston*, with seventeen Troops of Dragoons, 900 of *Grant's* Men, and three Regiments of Foot, to pass the River and Church, without any Opposition, who fell upon *Buchan* and his *Highlanders*, sleeping in their Tents and Houses, and kill'd several of them, but to their Expence; for the *Highlanders* fought in their Shirts with Swords and Targets, and kill'd so many of the Dragoons and their Horses, that Sir *Thomas* never attempted any Pursuit.

Afterwards, as is usual with the *Highlanders*,  
having

having been six Weeks from their Families, and wanting Provision, they return'd home to their respective Habitations ; and when they heard General *Mackay* was marching *North*, with an Army of 20 Battalions and Squadrons, to put a Garrison in *Innerlochy*, they drew to a Body, but had not Force sufficient to engage *Mackay*. Therefore it was agreed, that Major-General *Buchan* should march to *Aberdeenshire*, where he met with the Master of *Forbes*, and Colonel *Jackson*, at the Head of a considerable Body of Horse, who appeared at first, as if they design'd to give General *Buchan* Battle ; but his Mastership understanding the Word of Command, *Wheel*, better than *Advance*, turn'd the Battle into a Race, and won ; for he was first at *Aberdeen*, and alarm'd the Town with a frightful Outcry, *The Enemy, The Enemy's coming*. Then all their Engineers and skillful Men were call'd to man their Walls, plant Guns, *Pattareroes*, and other warlike Engines upon them, though Major-General *Buchan* never design'd to attack them.

At the same time Major-General *Cannin* march'd from *Lochabar* to *Perthshire* ; and from thence to the Castle of *Aberfoyle*, where he attack'd the Lord *Cardross's* Dragoons, kill'd several, and chas'd the rest to the Park of *Striveling*. He also burn'd the Lands of *Cammes-More*, and *Edinchip* ; and afterwards Major-General *Buchan*, and Major-General *Cannin*, join'd in one Body, with about 500 Horse, all Gentlemen in the County of *Lenox*, and march'd North, first to *Lochabar*, afterwards to *Badinoch*, and in a few Days they dispers'd. Major-General *Buchan* and his Officers went to the Honourable Sir *Alex. Mackdonald* of *Glengary*, and General *Cannin* and his Officers went to the Honourable

Honourable Sir *Donald Mackdonald of the Isles*, where they stay'd about nine Months, till the Earl of *Broadalbin* came with a Commission from *K. William*, to treat with the Clans, by offering them 20000*l.* to own his Government, and live peaceably. But His Majesty knew not, that the Loyalty and Honour of the *Scots Highlanders* was not to be overcome by Force, or debauch'd by Treasure. For they generously scorn'd the Offer as base, and unworthy of noble Thoughts; and only desired the Liberty to send two of their Officers to *France*, to acquaint King *James* with the State of their Affairs, and when they received his Orders, they would act accordingly. This Favour, with some Difficulty, was granted. Then General *Buchan*, General *Cannin*, and the Clans, agreed to send Sir *George Barclay*, and Major *Minzies*, to *France*, to inform His Majesty of His Affairs in the *Highlands of Scotland*, and of the dreadful Miseries and Extremities his Clans suffer'd and were reduc'd to, and humbly desir'd to know His Royal Will and Pleasure. His Majesty with Grief and Concern received their Commission, and graciously thank'd the Clans for their Loyalty, and told the Commissioners, that if ever it pleas'd God to restore Him, He would not be unmindful of their Loyalty who, in past Ages, had been always faithful to his Ancestors; and that if it pleas'd God to call for Him, He had a Son, the young Prince, who he doubted not, by God's Grace, if he liv'd, would be in a Condition fully to reward their Fidelity.

Then his Majesty gave them his Orders, that the Clans should make the best Articles they could for themselves, and live peaceably and quietly under the Government, as establish'd in  
His



His Kingdoms; and that Major-General *Buchan*, and Major-General *Cannin*, and their Officers, should agree with the Government to be transported to him at *St. Germain's*. When the two Officers returned from King *James* to the *Highlands*, the Major-Generals *Buchan* and *Cannin*, and the Clans had a Treaty with the Government at *Achalander* in *Glenorchy* and *Striveling* Shire, which with great Joy and Readiness receiv'd the Clans, and made many fair Promises, that they should enjoy their Liberties and Properties as formerly, and should be defended against all their Enemies; but the inhumane Massacre of *Glenco* is a memorable, and will be an everlasting Testimony how those fair Promises were perform'd.

The two Major-Generals, *Buchan* and *Cannin*, capitulated for themselves and their Officers, with the Government, and were allow'd two Ships to transport them to *France*.

'Tis evident as Demonstration itself, from an exact Survey of the Clans Loyalty, Courage and Conduct in the *Highlands*, that nothing but King *James's* special Command could have put a Period to his Affairs in that Country. They! whom no *Roman* Bravery nor Policy, tho' flush'd with Victory and Success, where ever they came, could conquer; but were forc'd to build Walls and draw Lines, for some forty Miles in Length, to defend themselves from their Descents and Incurfions; can we pretend to conquer so bold and martial a People?

A People! whom neither the *British* nor *Pictish* Force, jointly nor separately, was able to subdue: Nay the conquering *Saxons*, who over-run the *South* Parts of our Island, and march'd *Northward*, with confirm'd Resolutions of reducing the Whole

under their Subjection, soon found themselves in a Mistake, and their Career stopp'd by the ancient *Scotch Highlanders*.

Do not *Danish* Histories in red Letters, deplore the Loss of fifteen Thousand Men, who landed in the *Firth of Murray*, and were entirely cut off by the *Highlanders*: And if we descend to modern Times, we can readily bring to our Memories, the six remarkable Battles gain'd by the Great *Montrose* with his *Highlanders*, against the Rebels, who were regular Troops, and always four times his Number; and all *English* Historians, not only confess, but applaud the Gallantry of King *Charles II's Highland Army* at *Worcester*, who shew'd so much Resolution and Bravery, against ten times their Number, that even their Enemies regretted their Misfortunes, and the King himself ordered them to retreat from their Posts; and God be thanked the loyal Blood of their Ancestors still freely runs in their Childrens Veins, and they are always ready to shed the last Drop in Her Sacred Majesty's Service and Defence.

THE



THE  
S I E G E  
OF THE  
CASTLE *of* Edinburgh.

THE *Camronians* who guarded the Convention of Estates at *Edinburgh*, being equally unhappy in their Tempers, as in their Principles of Religion, maltreated every Person that had serv'd in King *Charles II's* or King *James's* Reigns, and threatened often to pull his Grace, the Duke of *Gordon*, out of the Castle, fired on his Centries, and committed many insufferable Abuses both in City and Country, which oblig'd his Grace to cut the wooden Bridge over the Moat without the Castle, where he ordered a single Plank to be laid over, which could be remov'd at Pleasure, to draw up the Draw-Bridge, and to post Guards and Centries round the Castle, which his Enemies were pleas'd to say was done to the best Advantage.

On the 11th of *November*, 1688, at Night, thirty-three *Highlanders* came into the Castle, and forty-four Soldiers, who refused to serve under

der his Grace's Command, went out, who, at the low Guard, were stripp'd of their Soldier's Cloaths, by Sergeant *Tod*. The next Day the Convention sent the Marquess of *Tweeddale* to capitulate with his Grace, with a Proposal of a Year's Pay to every Soldier, upon the Surrender of the Castle, who courteously begg'd the Marquess to excuse him to the Convention, and to acquaint them, *That is was inconsistent with his Honour to give up the Castle without his Master, King James's Orders*. The Marquess returned with this Answer to the Convention, who immediately ordered my Lord *Leven* and the *Camronians* to besiege the Castle. The first Work those experienced Officers and Soldiers undertook, was to draw a Trench from the *West-Port* to the *West-Kirk*, which was perform'd with so great Ignorance, that if his Grace had not been merciful, and a Lover of his Countrymen, he might have kill'd the most Part of them, and done great Mischief to the City of *Edinburgh*. After the Lord *Leven* and his *Camronians* had thrown away some Weeks in the Siege, Sir *John Laner* undertook it with equal Success: Then General *Mac-kay*, the ungrateful General *Douglas*, and Captain *Brown*, came with some Mortars and Bombs from *England*, and they raised a Battery at the *Monter-house Hill*, another at the *Castle of Collups*, and another at *Heriot's Work*, behind which Captain *Brown* had a Bomb Battery. The Battery at the *Castle of Collups* made a Breach in the Wall near the Back-Gate, but the Steepness of the Hill made it impracticable. The other two Batteries were of no use, and very much betrayed their Excellencies Ignorance in besieging of Towns. The next Thing they ordered, was to carry  
Wooll-



Wooll-Packs to the Castle Hill, and lay them near the Blew-Stone; but the Castle fir'd so hotly upon them with great and small Shot, that they were forced to desist from that Enterprize. Then they drained the *North-Loch*, thinking that would dry up the Well in the Castle; nor did that succeed; for the Castle-Well had always two Fathom of Water; and these were all the Schemes projected to take the Castle, which signify'd nothing; for the Castle was impregnable; and His Grace being of an affable and courteous Temper, and King *James's* Interest so strong in and about *Edinburgh*, that the Garrison never wanted good Intelligence, fresh Provisions, and other Necessaries, and all the Loss he sustain'd, was a Brewing of Ale, and one Centinel, *Patrick Kelley*; whereas the Besiegers lost above 500 Men; so that the Ammunition being imbezeld by Capt. *Drummond*, Storekeeper, was the only Reason that oblig'd his Grace to give up the Castle, on the 13th of June 1689.

THE



T H E  
S I E G E  
O F T H E  
B A S S.

**T**HE *Bass* is a strong Rock in the *Firth* of *Forth*, standing between *Fife* and *East Lothian*, within five Miles of *Dunbar*, in which there was a Garrison of fifty Men, commanded by a Captain and his respective Officers, whereof *Charles Maitland* was Governor, 1688. and defended it strenuously for his Master, King *James*, till 1690. Then having small Hopes of King *James's* Restoration, wanting Provisions, Ammunition, and other Necessaries, was forced to give it up to the Government, who made Mr. *Flesher* of *Salton*, Governor; he having four of King *James's* Officers Prisoners, they boldly surprized the Garrison, and sent all the Soldiers ashore, which being reported in the Country, where there were many loyal Families, they were supply'd with Men, Provisions, and Ammunition. Intelligence thereof being carry'd to *France* to King *James*,

The SIEGE of the BASS. 31

*James*, there was a Ship sent with all Sorts of Provisions and Stoves, and two Boats, one that carry'd two Pattareroes, 12 Musquets, and row'd with 12 Oars, and another smaller Boat.

But afterwards their Provisions falling short, the Garrison sent the twelve-oar'd Boat by Night, to bring off some Sheep and other Necessaries, which they frequently receiv'd from their Friends; and the Government being informed thereof, sent some Companies to Guard the Coast, who surprized several of the Garrison, when they came ashore, and thereby their Communication with the Land being stopp'd, they went out by Night in their Boats, and took several Ships; one laden with Salt, whence having taken what was convenient, she was ransom'd from *Edinburgh*; a *Dutch* Dogger which they plunder'd and put off again, and a Ship laden with Wheat which they thought to have carry'd to the *Bass*; but the Wind proving contrary, drove them to the Coast of *Montrose*, where she run ashore, and the Men getting safe to Land, dispersed in the Country; and falling again short of Provisions, they went in their Boat to the Isle of *May*, where they took several Sheep, and what Coals their Boat could carry. But the Government being enrag'd at their repeated Boldness, King *William* ordered the whole Revenue of the Kingdom to be expended on their Reduction, and on that Account sent two Frigates, one of sixty, and another of fifty Guns, who lay battering two Days, without doing any Damage to the Garrison, tho' the Ships had several of their Men kill'd, and their Rigging and Sails cut and shatter'd, and their Ships so much damnify'd, that they cost the Treasury of *Scotland* about five Hundred Pounds to repair them.

Afterwards

## 32 The SIEGE of the BASS.

Afterwards there were two Ships appointed constantly to attend that Service, whereby the Garrison was render'd incapable of procuring any Provisions by the Use of the Boats; however, there came after some time, a small Privateer from *Dunkirk*, laden with Rusk and other Necessaries: But the Garrison became so weak of Men, that they had not Hands enough to hoist up the Rusk, but were oblig'd to borrow ten Sailors to assist them; and when they had got only seven Bags into the Garrison, the largest of the two Ships bore down upon the Privateer, who was forced to cut her Cables, to prevent her being run down, so that the Garrison was then in worse Condition for holding out than before, having ten Sailors added to their Number, and only seven Bags of Rusk, which could serve but a short time; wherefore the Governor was oblig'd to put each Man of the Garrison to the Allowance of two Ounces of raw Rusk Dough in twenty-four Hours.

About that Time, Mr. Trotter was taken, and condemn'd for aiding and assisting the Place, and Captain *Alexander Hallyburton*, Captain *William Frazer*, Mr. *William Witham*, and Mr. *William Nicolson*, who belong'd to the Garrison, were taken on shore, and condemn'd to be hang'd; and the Day of Mr. Trotter's Execution being come, the Gibbet was erected at *Castletown*, and he being brought to the Place, a Gun was fir'd from the *Bass*, amongst the Crowd, which terrify'd them, and oblig'd them to remove the Gibbet to a farther Distance, where he was hang'd. The rest, who lay in Prison at *Edinburgh* under Condemnation, were reprieved from Time to Time, till set at Liberty by the Capitulation.

At



## The SIEGE of the BASS. 33

At last the Garrison, being reduced to five or six Days Provision, according to the above-mentioned Allowance, put out a Flag of Truce; whereupon the Government sending to know what they wanted, the Garrison reply'd, that they would surrender upon Terms, and drew up their own Articles, upon which the Honourable Privy Council sent two of their Number to the *Bass*, to acquaint them, what Conditions they would grant. The Governor, who had saved some Bottles of the best *French* Wine and Brandy, and some fine Bisket, made them drink plentifully, telling them there was no Scarcity of Provisions, and unless he had his own Terms, he would not surrender, delivering at the same Time his Articles to their Lordships, and after they were gone, he ordered all the Caputs, Coats and Hats in the Garrison, to be put on the Muzzles of Musquets, to make them believe the Place was full of Men; upon which their Lordships returned to the Council, and reported how they were treated, and that the Garrison was in every Respect well provided, which induced the Honourable Council to comply with the Governor's Articles, which were,

I. That the Garrison should come ashore with their Swords about them, and there should be a Ship appointed by the Government with fresh Provisions to transport such of them as were willing to go to *Dunkirk*, or *Haverdugrass*; and that in a Month after the Surrender, those who pleas'd to stay at Home, might live without Disturbance.

II. That all they had taken, or what belonged to them after they surprized the Place, they should be allowed to dispose of to the best Advantage,

### 34 *The SIEGE of the BASS.*

vantage, together with their Boats, and all things pertaining to any of them.

III. That such of them as should incline to go Abroad, might stay at *Edinburgh*, until the Ship was ready, without Molestation, and have so much a Day, according to their several Stations.

IV. That all who had belonged to the Garrison, or had aided or assisted it, should have the Benefit of the Capitulation; and those who were dispersed over the Kingdom, should have a Time to come in; and those who were condemn'd, in Prison, or otherways distress'd, should be set at Liberty the same Day the Garrison should come ashore, without any Fees, or other Charges whatsoever.

GALLIENUS

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# GALLIENUS REDIVIVUS;

OR,

## *Murder Will Out, &c.*

Being a True ACCOUNT of the

# DE-WITTING

OF

# G L E N C O.

*They gave out, that the Design of their Coming was to introduce Liberty, and depose Tyrants: But having gained the Power, They did so Tyrannize Themselves, that the Reign of Former Oppressors seemed a Golden Age, if compar'd with the Arbitrariness and Exaction of These pretended DELIVERERS; which made the Sicilians think them more happy who Expired in Servitude, than those who lived to see such a DISMAL FREEDOM.*

Plutarch. *Life of Timoleon.*

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ORIGINALS REPRODUCED

Author: W. W. O. Sec.

DE-WITTING

G. L. E. N. C. O.

Two great evils, that the people of this country are  
in need of, are, first, a more efficient system of  
education, and second, a more efficient system of  
justice. The first of these evils is the result of  
the present system of education, which is so  
defective, that it is impossible for the people to  
understand the principles of government, and  
therefore they are unable to exercise their  
rights as citizens. The second evil is the result  
of the present system of justice, which is so  
defective, that it is impossible for the people to  
obtain justice, and therefore they are unable to  
exercise their rights as citizens. The only way to  
reform these evils is by a more efficient system  
of education, and a more efficient system of  
justice. This is the only way to secure the  
freedom of the people, and the only way to  
secure the happiness of the people.





A LETTER from a Gentleman in  
SCOTLAND, to his Friend at  
LONDON, who desir'd a Particular  
Account of the Business of GLENCO.

EDINBURGH, April 20, 1692.

SIR,

THE Account you desir'd of that strange  
and surprizing Massacre of *Glenco*, take as  
follows.

*Mackjan Mackdonald*, Laird of *Glenco*, a Branch  
of the *Mackdonalds*, one of the greatest Clans, or  
Tribes, in the North of *Scotland*, came with the  
most considerable Men of his Clan to Colonel  
*Hill*, Governor of *Fort-William* at *Inverlochy*,  
some few Days before the expiring of the Time  
for receiving the Indemnity appointed by Pro-  
clamation, which, as I take it, was the 1st of  
*January* last, intreating he would administer unto  
him the *Oaths* which the aforesaid Proclamation  
requir'd to be taken; that so submitting himself  
to the Government, he might have its Protection.  
The Colonel received him with all Expressions of  
Kindness; nevertheless shifted the administering  
the *Oaths* to him; alledging, that by the Procla-  
mation it did not belong to him, but to the She-  
riffs, Bailiffs of Regalities, and Magistrates of  
Burghs, to administer them. *Mackjan* complain-  
ing that by this Disappointment he might be  
wrong'd,

# 38 The Massacre of GLENCO.

wrong'd, the Time being now near the expiring, and the Weather so extreme, and the Ways so very bad, that it was not possible for him so soon to reach any Sheriff, &c. got from Colonel *Hill*, under his Hand, his Protection; and withal he was assur'd, that no Orders from the Government against him, should be put in Execution, until he first was advertis'd, and had Time allow'd him to apply himself to King or Council for his own Safety. But the better to make all sure (tho' this might have seem'd Security enough for that Time) with all Dispatch imaginable he posted to *Inverary*, the chief Town of *Argyleshire*, where he found Sir *Collin Campbell* of *Ardrakinis*, Sheriff of that Shire, and crav'd of him the Benefit of the Indemnity, according to the Proclamation, he being willing to perform all the Conditions requir'd. Sir *Collin* at first scrupled to admit him to the Oaths, the Time which the Proclamation did appoint, being elapsed by one Day, alledging it would be of no use to him then to take them; But *Mackjan* represented that it was not his Fault, he having come in time enough to Colonel *Hill*, not doubting but he could have administered the Oaths to him, and that upon his Refusal he had made such Haste to *Inverary*, that he might have come in time enough, had not the Extremity of the Weather hinder'd him; and even as it was, he was but one Day after the Time appointed; and that it would be very unbecoming the Government to take Advantage of a Man's coming late by one Day, especially when he had done his utmost to have come in Time. Upon this, and his threatening to protest against the Sheriff for the Severity of this Usage, he administered to him and his Attendants, the Oaths, *Mackjan* depend-  
ing

## The Massacre of GLENCO. 39

ing upon the Indemnity granted to those who should take them; and having so done, he went home, and lived quietly and peaceably under the Government, till the Day of his Death.

In *January* last, a Party of the Earl of *Argyle's* Regiment came to that Country; the Design of their coming was then suspected to be, to take Course with those who should stand out, and not submit, and take the Oaths. The Garrison of *Inverlochy* being thronged, and *Glenco* being commodious for Quartering, as being near that Garrison, those Soldiers were sent thither to quarter; they pretended they came to exact Arrears of Cess and Hearth-Money (a Tax never known in *Scotland*, until laid on by the Parliament, 1690, after the Parliament of *England* had eas'd themselves of it.) E're they enter'd *Glenco*, that Laird, or his Sons, came out to meet them, and asked them if they came as Friends, or as Enemies? The Officers answer'd, as Friends; and gave their Parole of Honour, that they would do neither him, nor his Concerns any Harm; upon which he welcomed them, promising them the best Entertainment the Place could afford. This he really perform'd, as all the Soldiers confess. He and they lived together in mutual Kindness and Friendship fifteen Days, or thereabouts; so far was he from fearing any Hurt from them. And the very last Day of his Life he spent in keeping Company with the Commander of that Party, Captain *Campbell* of *Glenlyon*, playing at Cards with him till Six or Seven at Night, and at their Parting mutual Protestations of Kindness were renewed. Some Time that very Day, but whether before, or after their Parting, I know not, Captain *Campbell* had these Orders sent him from  
Major

40      *The Massacre of GLENCO.*

Major *Duncanson*, a Copy whereof I here send you.

*Ballacholis, Feb. 12. 1692.*

S I R,

**Y***OU are hereby ordered to fall upon the Rebels, the Mackdonalds of Glenco, and put all to the Sword under Seventy. You are to have especial Care, that the Old Fox and his Sons do upon no Account escape your Hands. You are to secure all the Avenues, that no Man escape. This you are to put in Execution at Five o'Clock in the Morning precisely, and by that Time, or very shortly after it, I'll strive to be at you with a stronger Party: If I do not come to you at Five, you are not to tarry for me, but to fall on. This is by the King's SPECIAL COMMAND, for the Good and Safety of the Country, that these Miscreants may be cut off, Root and Branch. See that this be put in Execution, without Feud or Favour, else you may expect to be treated, as not true to the King or Government, nor a Man fit to carry a Commission in the King's Service. Expecting you will not fail in the fulfilling hereof, as you love yourself. I subscribe these with my Hand,*

*Robert Duncanson.*

*For their Majesties Service, to Captain  
Robert Campbell of Glenlyon.*

*Duncanson had received Orders from Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, which were as follows.*

*Ballacholis, Feb. 12. 1692.*

S I R,

**P***ER Second to the Commander in Chief, and my Colonel's Orders to me, for putting in Execution*



## The Massacre of GLENCO. 41.

cution the Service commanded against the Rebels in Glenco, wherein you, with the Party of the Earl of Argyle's Regiment under your Command, are to be concern'd; you are therefore forthwith to order your Affairs so, as that the several Posts already assign'd by you, be by you and your several Detachments fallen in Action with, precisely by Five o'Clock To-morrow Morning, being Saturday; at which Time I will endeavour the same with those appointed from this Regiment for the other Places. It will be most necessary you secure those Avenues on the South Side, that the Old Fox, nor none of his Cubs get away. The Orders are, that none be spar'd from 70, of the Sword, nor the Government troubled with Prisoners. This is all until I see you. From

*Your humble Servant,*

James Hamilton.

*Please to order a Guard to secure the Ferry, and the Boats there; and the Boats must be all on this Side the Ferry, after your Men are over.*

*For their Majesties Service, for Major  
Robert Duncanson of the Earl of  
Argyle's Regiment.*

THE Soldiers being disposed five or three in a House, according to the Number of the Family they were to assassinate, had their Orders given them secretly. They had been all receiy'd as Friends by those poor People, who intending no Evil themselves, little suspected that their Guests were desigu'd to be their Murderers. At Five o'Clock in the Morning they began their

G

bloody

## 42 The Massacre of GLENCO.

bloody Work, surpriz'd and butcher'd thirty-eight Persons, who had kindly receiv'd them under their Roofs. *Mackjan* himself was murder'd, and is much bemoan'd; he was a stately well-favour'd Man, and of good Courage and Sense: As also the Laird *Archintrikin*, a Gentleman of more than ordinary Judgment and Understanding, who had submitted to the Government, and had *Col. Hill's* Protection in his Pocket, which he had got three Months before. I cannot without Horror represent how that a Boy about eight Years of Age was murder'd; he seeing what was done to others in the House with him, in a terrible Fright run out of the House, and espying *Capt. Campbell*, grasp'd him about the Legs, crying for Mercy, and offering to be his Servant all his Life. I am informed *Capt. Campbell* inclined to spare him; but one *Drummond*, an Officer, barbarously run his Dagger through him, whereof he died immediately. The Rehearsal of several Particulars and Circumstances of this Tragical Story, makes it appear most doleful; as that *Mackjan* was killed as he was drawing on his Breeches, standing before his Bed, and giving Orders to his Servants for the good Entertainment of those who murder'd him; while he was speaking the Words, he was shot through the Head, and fell dead in his Lady's Arms, who, through the Grief of this, and other bad Usages she met with, died the next Day. It is not to be omitted, that most of those poor People were killed when they were asleep, and none were allowed to pray to *God* for Mercy. Providence ordered it so, that that Night was most boisterous; so as a Party of four Hundred Men, who should have come to the other End of the *Glen*, and begun the like Work there at the

same

## The Massacre of GLENCO. 43

Same Hour (intending that the poor Inhabitants should be enclosed, and none of them escape) could not march at length, until it was Nine o'Clock, and this afforded to many an Opportunity of escaping, and none were killed but those in whose Houses *Campbell* and *Glenlyon's* Men were quartered, otherwise all the Male under Seventy Years of Age, to the Number of two Hundred, had been cut off, for that was the Order; and it might have been easily executed, especially considering that the Inhabitants had no Arms at that Time; for upon the first hearing that the Soldiers were coming to the *Glen*, they had conveyed them all out of the Way: For tho' they relied on the Promises which were made them for their Safety; yet they thought it not improbable that they might be disarmed. I know not whether to impute it to Difficulty in distinguishing the Difference of a few Years, or to the Fury of the Soldiers, who being once glutted with *Blood*, stand at nothing, that even some above Seventy Years of Age were destroy'd. They set all the Houses on Fire, drove off all the Cattle to the Garrison of *Inverlochy*, viz. 900 Cows, 200 Horses, and a great many Sheep and Goats, and there they were divided amongst the Officers. And how dismal may you imagine the Case of the poor Women and Children was then! It was lamentable, past Expression; their Husbands and Fathers, and near Relations, were forced to flee for their Lives; they themselves almost stript, and nothing left them, and their Houses being burnt, and not one House nearer than six Miles; and to get thither they were to pass over Mountains, and Wreaths of Snow, in a vehement Storm, wherein the greatest Part of them perished through Hunger

## 44 The Massacre of GLENCO.

and Cold. It fills me with Horror to think of poor stript Children and Women, some with Child, and some giving Suck, wrestling against a Storm, in Mountains and Heaps of Snow, and at length to be overcome, and give over, and fall down, and die miserably.

You see in *Hamilton's Order to Duncanson*, there's a special Caution, *That the Old Fox nor none of his Cubs should escape*; and in *Duncanson's Order to Capt. Campbell of Glenlyon*, *That the Old Fox nor none of his Sons escape*; but notwithstanding all this wicked Caution, it pleas'd God that the two young Gentlemen, *Mackjan's Sons*, escaped. For it happened that the younger of these Gentlemen trusted little to the fair Promises of *Campbell*, and had a more watchful Eye over him than his Father or Brother, who suffer'd themselves by his reiterated Oaths to be deluded into a Belief of his Integrity: He having a strong Impression on his Spirit, that some mischievous Design was hidden under *Campbell's* specious Pretences, it made him, after the rest were in Bed, remain in a retired Corner, where he had an advantageous Prospect into their Guard. About Midnight perceiving several Soldiers to enter it, this encreased his Jealousy: so he went and communicated his Fears to his Brother, who could not for a long time be perswaded there was any bad Design against them, and asserted, That what he had seen, was not a doubling their Guards in order to any ill Design, but that being in a strange Place, and at a Distance from the Garrison, they were to send out Centinels far from the Guard, and because of the Extremity of the Weather relieved them often, and that the Men he saw could be no more than these. Yet he persisting



## The Massacre of GLENCO. 45

to say, That they were not so secure, but that it was fit to acquaint their Father with what he had seen: He prevailed with his Brother to rise, and go with him to his Father, who lay in a Room contiguous to that they were in. Tho' what the younger Son alledged made no great Impression on his Father, yet he allowed his Sons to try what they could discover. They well knowing all skulking Places there, went and hid themselves near to a Centinel's Post, where instead of one, they discovered eight or ten Men; this made them more inquisitive, so they crept as near as they could without being discovered, so near that they could hear one say to his Fellows, *That he liked not this Work, and that had he known of it, he would have been very unwilling to have come there; but that none, except their Commanders knew of it till within a Quarter of an Hour.* The Soldier added, That he was willing to fight against the Men of the Glen, but it was base to murder them. But to all this was answered, *All the Blame be on such as gave the Orders; we are free, being bound to obey our Officers.* Upon hearing of these Words, the young Gentlemen retired as quickly and as quietly as they could towards the House to inform their Father of what they had heard; but as they came nigh to it they perceived it surrounded, and heard Guns discharged, and the People shrieking; whereupon, being unarm'd, and totally unable to rescue their Father, they preserved their own Lives in Hopes yet to serve their King and Country, and see Justice done upon those Hell-Hounds, treacherous Murderers, the *Shame* of their Country, and *Disgrace* of Mankind.

## 46 The Massacre of GLENCO.

I must not forget to tell you, That there were two of these Officers who had given their Parole of Honour to *Mackjan*, who refused to be concerned in that *Brutal Tragedy*, for which they were sent Prisoners to *Glasgow*, where if they remain not still, I am sure they were some Weeks ago.

Thus, Sir, in Obedience to your Commands, I have sent you such Account as I could get of that monstrous and most inhuman Massacre of the Laird of *Glenco* and others of his *Clan*. You desire some Proofs of the Truth of this Story; for you say there are many in *England* who cannot believe such a Thing could be done, and publick Justice not executed upon the *Russians*: For they take it for granted, that no such Order could be given by the Government; and you say, they will never believe it without a downright Demonstration. Sir, as to the Government, I will not meddle with it; or whether these Officers who murder'd *Glenco*, had such Orders as they pretended from the Government; the Government knows that best, and how to vindicate their own Honour, and punish the Murderers who pretended their Authority, and still stand upon it. But as to the Matter of Fact of the Murther of *Glenco*, you may depend upon it, as certain and undeniable. It would be thought as strange a Thing in *Scotland* for any Man to doubt of it, as of the Death of my Lord *Dundee*, or with you that the Duke of *Monmouth* lost his Head. But to put you out of all Doubt, you will e'er long have my Lord *Argyle's* Regiment with you in *London*, and there you may speak with *Glenlyon* himself, with *Drummond* and the rest of the Actors in that dismal Tragedy; and on my Life, there

## The Massacre of GLENCO. 47

there is never a one of them will deny it to you; for they know it is notoriously known all over *Scotland*, and it is an Admiration to us, that there should be any one in *England* who makes the least doubt of it. Nay, *Glenlyon* is so far from denying it, that he brags of it, and justifies the Action publickly: He said in the *Royal Coffee-House* in *Edinburgh*, that he would do it again; nay, That he would stab any Man in *Scotland* or in *England*, without asking the Cause, if the King gave him Orders, and that it was every good Subject's Duty so to do; and I am credibly inform'd, that *Glenlyon* and the rest of them have address'd themselves to the Council for a Reward for their good Service, in destroying *Glenco*, pursuant to their Orders.

There is enough of this mournful Subject; if what I have said satisfy you not, you may have what farther Proof, and in what manner you please to ask it.

S I R,

*Your humble Servant, &c.*

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N. B. *That the Gentleman to whom this Letter was sent, did on Thursday, June 30. 1692. when the Lord Argyle's Regiment was quartered at Brentford, go thither, and had this Story of the Massacre of Glenco from the very Men who were the Actors in it: Glenlyon and Drummond were both there. The Highlander who told him the Story, expressing Guilt, which was visible in Glenlyon, said, Glenco hangs about Glenlyon Night and Day,*  
and

# 48 The Massacre of GLENCO.

and you may see him in his Face. I am told likewise, that Sir John Lowther refused to accept the Place of Lord Advocate of Scotland, unless he might have Liberty to prosecute Glenlyon, and the rest of the Murderers of Glenco, which not being granted, James Stuart (who was forfeited for Treason by K. C. 2. and since knighted by K. W.) has now the Place.

GALLIENUS

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## GALLIENUS REDIVIVUS;

O R,

*Murder Will Out, &c.*

THE foregoing Account of the barbarous *Massacre of Glenco*, was printed in the Year 1692. in the *Answer to Dr. King's Book of the State of the Protestants in Ireland*: And all the Reception it met with among many here in *England*, was, That it was a *Jacobite Story*, on purpose to reflect upon the Government, and that there was no such thing: But this is now confuted by the Proceedings of the Parliament in *Scotland*, this Summer Session, 1695, wherein they have voted the killing of the *Glenco-men* to be a Murder; and yet have acquitted Sir *Thomas Livingston* and Colonel *Hill*, who gave the Orders for killing of them. Why? Because their Orders were but pursuant to the *Instructions* they had from Court. Where will this lodge the Murder? The Design, it is well enough known, is to put it upon Sir *John Dalrymple*, commonly call'd *Master of Stair*, one of the Secretaries for *Scotland*, because he is not so *Fiercy a Presbyterian* as the other Secretary, *James Johnston*, who hath it by *Inheritance* to love Crown and Mitre alike; and to have a just Reward for it. But *Dalrymple* is only

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a *Libertine*, or *Latitudinarian*, One of the modern *No-Religion*, who are *indifferent* to *All*, so they be *troubled* with *none*. Therefore he cares not whether *Episcopacy* or *Presbytery*, or what else is set up, provided the People be easy with it.

Now it being known to all the World, That the Pretence of the *Inclinations of the People of Scotland*, which was made the Ground-work for abolishing *Episcopacy*, and setting up *Presbytery* there, was a meer *Sham*, contriv'd by this *Johnston*, and the *Bigot Presbyterian Party* in *Scotland*; who were all put in Power, in the Beginning of this *Revolution*; and set on the *Barbarous Rabbling* of the *Episcopal Clergy* in the *West of Scotland*, that they might cry out, The *Inclinations of the People* were against *Episcopacy*: And having by these and other Arts (which are fully related in Print) *Pack'd*, and then surpriz'd the first *Convention*, or *Meeting of Estates*, to Abolish *Episcopacy*: They dare not have a new *Parliament* \* (as in *England*) but keep on the same *Convention* (only changing the Name into that of a *Parliament*) to this Day: Because no *Free Parliament* can be had in *Scotland*, which would not the first Day, spew out *Presbytery*, and re-establish their much more belov'd *Episcopacy*. And the People shewing great Uneasiness under their present Establishment (which hath been *trick'd* and *forc'd* upon them.) All the *Craft* and *Violence* of the *Regnant Presbytery*, assisted by *Acts of Parliament*, and all the Countenance of the *Government*, having not yet been able to Outoust the *Episcopal Clergy* in the *North*, and other Parts of *Scotland*, or prevail with the People to admit of, or almost give civil Treatment to the *Presbyterian Ministers* sent to them, tho' establish'd

\* See *Querela Temperum*, P. 8 and 9.

## The Massacre of 'GLENCO. 51

establish'd by Law. The *Presbyterian* Interest standing there upon so slender a Bottom, their *Juncto* think it not safe to have a Man of *Dalrymple's* Latitude in Religion, in so eminent a Post, and near their King; lest he should follow the *Inclinations of the People*, in Good-Earrest, and call a new *Parliament* there, which would ruin all their Measures: Therefore Ways and Means must be used to remove him; and leave *Johnston* and the *Presbyterian Faction* in the sole Possession of the Court. At length this of *Glenco* was pitch'd upon; which was so odious, they knew their King durst not own it: Therefore they would throw it upon *Dalrymple*, who was Secretary, and attended when the *Instructions* were sent for that bloody Murder. And thereby too, they would seem to take of the *Odium* from their King: This was their Pretence; and they had Proof enough against *Dalrymple*: But how that clear'd his Master will be seen.

They produced *nine* Letters of *Dalrymple's* (of which I have Copies) concerning the *Massacre of Glenco*. And I shall have occasion to mention them hereafter; I will now set down their several Dates and Directions, and quote them, to save Repetition, only by their Number, Letter i. ii. iii. &c. The two first are directed to Lieutenant-Colonel *Hamilton*, and bear Date on the 1<sup>st</sup>. and the other the 3<sup>d</sup>. December 1691. the four next are to Sir *Thomas Levingston*, of these several Dates, 7, 9, 11, and 16 of January 1692. Then follow two more to Colonel *Hill*, of the 16<sup>th</sup>. and 30<sup>th</sup>. of the same Month; and lastly, one of the 30<sup>th</sup>. ditto, to Sir *Thomas Levingston*. It seems very strange that K. W. would suffer these Letters to be expos'd to the Parliament in  
H 2 Scotland,

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*Scotland*, being most of them wrote by his Order, enlarging upon, and enforcing the Execution of Instructions, sent with them for the *Massacre of Glenco*. And the Regard which his *Dear Presbyterians*, and his Favourite *Johnston*, in particular, had to his Honour, was very slender, when, to compass their Ends, they load him so foully, that they might load *Dalrymple* too. *Johnston* says No, But that he *foreseeing* (because some say of his own *contriving*) that the *Parliament*, who are most of them his *Creatures* (to their Honour be it spoken) would fall upon the Business of *Glenco*; and that they must be, at least *seemingly* gratified in it, otherwise, that it might obstruct the *Money-Bills*, did therefore advise his Master to send down a *Commission* to Men of his own chusing, to enquire into the Affair of *Glenco*; but withal to give secret Instructions to his *Commissioner*, to keep up the said *Commission*, unless the *Parliament* should enter upon that Business: And if they did, then to produce the said *Commission*, to shew his Majesty's *Innocence*, by his *Care* to have it examin'd; and withal, it would take the Examination of it out of the Hands of the *Parliament Committees*, who might not manage so dextrously as those of his own naming.

Things being thus stated, and the necessary Orders given, it is vilely suspected, that *Johnston* procured the Matter to be started in *Parliament*, whereby, at once to get rid of his *Rival Secretary*, and Root up the Interest of any, who had but an Indifferency towards *Episcopacy*, at *Court*; tho' to the utter Shipwreck of his *Master's* Honour, to be recorded for all *Posterities* (as if it were inseparable from some Constitutions to betray those they serve, even tho' they wish them well, and must stand



## The Massacre of GLENCO. 53

stand and fall with them.) For considering the Influence *Johnston* had in that *Parliament*, and that they never yet oppos'd his Will in any thing; and that he has been able to suppress the least Murmur or Hint, that looked towards *Glenco*, when the Fact was new committed; and the *Horror* of it fresh and bleeding; and now for three Years after: I say, It is not supposed by Men who understand that *Parliament*, that it could have been brought upon the Stage, when it was almost dead and forgotten, if the Hand of *Joab* had not been in it; but let him look to that — I have only to add, as a Completion of the foregoing *Narrative*, that I can from unquestionable Vouchers, give the Reader an Account of the Orders from Court to Sir *Thomas Levingston*, and Colonel *Hill*, which are not in the *Letter* that goes before; and when the Reader is told that *Hamilton* (whose Order to *Duncan*son is inserted) had his Order from *Levingston* and *Hill*; then he has the whole Thread, viz. W. R.'s Order to *Levingston* and *Hill*; *Levingston* and *Hill* to *Hamilton*; *Hamilton* to *Duncan*son; and *Duncan*son to *Glenlyon*, who was the *Butcher*.

You find in the *Gazettes*, two Sets of *Instructions*, one of the 11th, the other of the 16th of Jan. 1691-2. and I will give you an Account of them both. Those of the 11th did expressly Order FIRE and SWORD, [these were the Words] against all the *Highland-Clans*, who had not taken the *Oaths*. After they were sent away, my Lord *Garmarthen* (now *Leeds*) being told of it, by *Dalrymple* (as I am informed) did represent it to K. W. as a Thing so unknown in these Countries, which are governed by Laws, That *Fire* and *Sword* would sound very harshly; no such Words having

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having ever been heard from any of our Native Kings. This procured the Mitigation of that Order by the *Instructions* of the 16th, which poured all the *Thunder* upon *Glenco*; because some *Sacrifice* must be made! What concern'd *Glenco* was in the 4th of these *Instructions*, and is as follows.

### WILLIAM R.

*As for MACKJAN of GLENCO, and that TRIBE, if they can be well distinguished from the Rest of the Highlanders; it will be proper for the Vindication of Publick Justice, to EXTIRPATE that Set of Thieves.*

W. R.

This was directed to Sir *Thomas Levingston*, and Colonel *Hill*. And the Parliament has voted that *Levingston* or *Hill's* Orders did not exceed these *Instructions*; nor indeed could they: For what can exceed *EXTIRPATION*! And that to be executed at the *Discretion of Soldiers*! As it is worded in the Secretary's Letter to Sir *Thomas Levingston*. \* *I am confident (says he) you will see there are full Powers given you in very plain Terms, and yet the Method left very much to your own Discretion.*

Take Notice that the *Instructions* are counter-sign'd W. R. at *Bottom* as well as *Top*, which is not usual: For it is the Secretary's Office to counter-sign the King's Orders; and the Reason is, that if any thing be amiss, the Secretary must be answerable. Therefore *Dalrymple* had Reason to wave that Ceremony, in this Instance, and let his Master take all the Glory to himself. And lest this should not be sufficiently taken Notice of; and that he might have a Voucher, when Time comes, he took Care to inform Sir *Thomas Levingston*

\* Letter v.

## The Massacre of GLENCO. 55

Levingston punctually of it, in the same Letter which inclosed the first most bloody Instructions, of the 11th Jan. 1691-2. for an *Universal Massacre* of All who had not taken the Oaths. And begins in these Words; \* *Sir, I send you the King's Instructions super and subscrib'd by Himself—* And to shew how pleasing a Thing *Mercy* was to them, and with what Reluctancy they prosecuted those who had not taken the Oaths, he says in the same Letter; *Just now Argyle tells me, That Glenco hath not taken the Oaths, at which I rejoice. 'Tis a great Work of Charity to be exact in rooting out that damnable Sect.* And to shew how great this Charity was, and whence it proceeded, the wise Secretary blurrs out these Words; *I have no great Kindness for Keappoch, nor Glenco, and 'tis well these People are in Mercy.* Well indeed! They were in merciful Hands! Who can say they ought not to die, for whom such a Secretary hath no GREAT Kindness! But who are they must die? ALL! ALL! Man, Woman, and Child! Massacre the Men, and drive the Women and Children to perish more cruelly in the Mountains. To which purpose, that extreme cold Season was chosen for the Execution. \*\* *The Winter is the only Season* (says the Secretary) *in which we are sure the Highlanders cannot escape us, nor carry their Wives, Bairns, and Cattle to the Mountains.* † *'Tis the only Time they cannot escape you; for human Constitution cannot endure to be long out of Houses—* This is the proper Season to maul them in the cold long Nights. This was express'd with the Gusto of a Vulture, in Expectation of a glorious Massacre! And then how easy it would be! †† *I expect* (says he) *you will find little Resistance but from the*

\* Letter v. \*\* Letter i. † Letter ii. †† Letter ix.

## 56 The Massacre of GLENCO.

*the Season.* And then what thorough Work they would make! \* *To destroy entirely the Country of Lochabar, Lochells, Lauds, Keappochs, Glengafies, Appin, and Glenco.* Here was a plentiful Feast provided! It was a ravishing Prospect!

But O how these *Lyons* were enraged when any of their desired Prey was delivered out of their Jaws. It was in a mournful Strain the Secretary tells the sad News. \*\* *We have an Account (says he) that Lochart, and Macknaghton, Appin, and Glenco took the Benefit of the Indemnity at Inverary; and Keappoch, and others at Inverness; But after this, when Argyle told him that Glenco had not taken the Oaths; How did he rejoice! as above quoted. † I am glad (says he) that Glenco did not come within the Time prescrib'd. †† I am content that CLAN except itself. ‡ For my Part, I could have wish'd the Mackdonalds had not divided, that is, That they had all excluded themselves from Mercy, and I am sorry that Keappoch and Mackjan of Glenco are safe. But it seems they were not safe. Some must be made a Sacrifice; and Glenco was pitched upon for the Victim. And the implacable Fury which was shewn against that Clan, expressed the Rage they felt, that so many had escaped them. And therefore that Clan was to be destroyed entirely. ‡‡ I assure you, says the Secretary to his Officers, your Power shall be full enough, and I hope the Soldiers will not trouble the Government with Prisoners. § For a just Example of Vengeance, I intreat, that the thieving Tribe in Glenco may be rooted out in earnest. I shall intreat you, that for a just Vengeance, and publick Example, the thieving*

\* Letter iii. \*\* Letter iv. † Letter ix. †† Letter i. ‡ Letter iv. ‡‡ Letter iii. §§ Letter vi. § Letter vii.



## The Massacre of GLENCO. 57

ing Tribe of Glenco may be rooted out to purpose. The Earl of Argyle has promised they shall have no Retreat in his Bounds; the Passes to Rannach would be secured, and the Hazard certified to the Laird of — to retreat: Then in that Case Argyle's Detachment, with a Party that may be posted in Island Stalker, must cut them off. \* Pray when any thing concerning Glenco is resolved, let it be secret and sudden, otherwise the Men will shift you, and better not meddle with them, than not to do it to purpose, to cut off that Nest of Robbers who are fallen in the Mercy of the Law. † I am glad Glenco did not come in within the Time prescribed. I hope what is done there, may be in earnest, since the rest are not in a Condition to draw together to help. I think to herry their Cattle, or burn their Houses, is but to render them desperate lawless Men to rob their Neighbours: But I believe you will be satisfied it were great Advantage to the Nation, That that Thieving Tribe were rooted out, and cut off. It must be quietly done, otherwise they will make shift for both the Men and their Cattle. Argyle's Detachment lies in Keappoch well, to assist the Garrison to do all ON A SUDDEN. Was ever so greedy a Hunt after the Lives of a Company of Secure and Unarm'd People, who slept fearless, and suspecting no Danger, under the Protection of those who were thus contriving to massacre them, in the most savage and treacherous Manner!

The Secretary tells Colonel Hill, that § The Oaths are indispensable. This was a fearful Method of imposing the Oaths upon these *Higblanders*, that none must live who would not take them! But were All admitted to take them? One would

I

think

\* Letter viii.

† Letter ix.

§ Letter viii.

## 58 The Massacre of GLENCO.

think so; when they were made *indispensable*. Yet notwithstanding, in that same Letter he gave these Directions to Colonel Hill. *Till we see what is done by the CHIEFS, it is not time to receive their Tenants, or admitting them to take the Oaths or hoping for Pardon, till they give Evidence that they are willing to pay their Rents to you, and to take Tax for their former Duties; who will not do so, and were in the Rebellion, must feel the dismal Consequences of it.*

Thus Naboth's Vineyard made him a Blasphemer! If the Tenants would betray the Rights of their Landlords to attorn and pay the Rents to the Secretary, or his Governor, then, and not otherwise, they should be *admitted* to take the Oaths: And yet they must not live, if they did not take the Oaths: But Glenco took the Oaths, yet that sav'd not his Life, nor his Glan.

It were reasonable here to presume that K.W. did not know that they had taken the Oaths. *First*, If it had been so, This manner of Massacre in Cold Blood had been a Cruelty, without a Precedent. *Secondly*, It was taking Advantage of the Time with the greatest Rigour. For the Time limited by the Indemnity, expired but the first of January 1691-2. And the Instructions for a General Massacre were dated the 11th of the same Month at London, which was hardly Time enough to know whether they had taken the Oaths or not. But *Thirdly*, Here is no Room left to surmise that K.W. did not know it; because Secretary Dalrymple; in his Letter to Sir Thomas Livingston, before quoted, which is dated at London the 9th of January, 1691-2, tells him, \* That they had an Account that Glenco had taken the Oaths at In-

verary;

\* Letter iv.

## The Massacre of GLENCO. 59

erary ; which was the Place where he did take them, as is told in the foregoing Narrative. And he tells Sir *Thomas*, in the same Letter, ‘ I have been with the King. He says your Instructions shall be dispatch’d on *Monday*. And they were so. For that *Monday* was the 11th of *January*, 1691-2, which Day the Instructions do bear Date. And this Letter of the *Secretary*’s was dated the 9th of *January*, 1691-2, which was the *Saturday* before. And then tells Sir *Thomas*, That he had the Account of *Glenco*’s having taken the *Oaths* with several others ; and that he had been with the King concerning it, and Instructions should be sent, &c. ’Tis true, his Letter of the 11th, which went with the Instructions, says, † That *Argyle* told him *Glenco* had not taken the *Oaths*. But this was no more than *Hearsay*, and it was not true. For *Glenco* had taken the *Oaths* before that Time, according to the Account which the *Secretary* own’d was sent to him ; and *Argyle* was an Enemy to *Glenco*, as appears by what is above quoted out of the Letter 7. But this Saying of *Argyle* to the *Secretary* in *London*, could not be of *Argyle*’s own Knowledge. And one would think that the *Secretary of State* should have as good Intelligence as he.

But, to make the most of it, this could amount to no more than a *Doubt* ; and to suspend his further Resolution, till he might have the Certainty from *Scotland* ; but they did not stay for this ; for the particular Instructions to massacre *Glenco*, bore Date the 16th of *January*, 1691-2. Betwixt which Time and the 11th, when *Argyle* told the *Secretary* as above, They could not send to *Scotland*, and have an Answer back. Now these In-

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structions of the 16th were no way Conditional; to cut off *Glenco* if he had not taken the *Oaths*; but Positive, and without more ado. When it is certain that *K. W.* must, at least, *Doubt* whether he had taken the *Oaths*, or not; but it is apparent that Colonel *Hill*, who had given *Glenco* his Protection, and to whom *Glenco* came to take the *Oaths*, I say it is certain that he, and the other Officers there upon the Place, knew very well that *Glenco* had taken the *Oaths* and submitted to the Government. Those Officers whom he receiv'd into his House, and quartered their Soldiers among his Tenants, upon his laying down his Arms; These must know that he had *submitted*. But if notwithstanding they must Obey their Orders (as they did) if it be not permitted to Officers, so much as *Rescribere*, to acquaint the King with any Mistake that may be in his Orders; but to execute them blindfold, and without asking Questions, then let me lie out of the Reach of a Soldier.

The Reader must likewise know, that none of these foresaid Instructions were communicated to the Privy Council of *Scotland*; to whom by the Constitution of that Kingdom, and continual Custom, all the King's Orders are directed. They knew nothing of this Matter, it was contriv'd to be carry'd in such a Manner, as not to be prevented. And when *Gallienus* his Thirst of Blood is once satisfied, then let Slaves grumble and make Enquiry! We know how to manage them. *Johnson* hath undertaken it; nay he hath done it. *Done it!* More effectually than ever was heard, or I believe, imagin'd, in these Nations, before this Happy Revolution: For here is a Precedent made, and that by *P——t*, That the King  
may



## The Massacre of GLENCO. 61

may send his Guards, and cut any Man's Throat in the Nation in Cold Blood; nay he may massacre the whole P——t, as they are there Sitting, by the Rule that they have given; that is, To acquit *Levingston* and *Hill*; and to justify them for pursuing the King's Orders to massacre a whole Clan, which is no more Just, or Law, than to massacre a P——t.

Let us banter the World, or ourselves no more with Liberty and Laws! And when P——ts can be brought to approve and justify all this—Well! *Johnston*! Thou hast manag'd nobly. Thou art fit to serve a Monarch! But not unless you bring your Monarch cleverly off in this Business; for what if you can place it upon *Dalrymple*; and if *Dalrymple* should be hang'd for daring to send such an Order, tho' he refused to counter-sign it, What will become of *him*, who both sign'd it, and counter-sign'd it, and commanded it to be sent.

If the Man such Praises have,  
What must He employs the K—?

Why! Did his Master never enquire into the Matter before? Never before the *Parliament* clamour'd! And what was the Meaning of a Commission to examine into what himself had order'd—But *Mes James*!—And have you e'en brought your Master into this Noose! What can you expect from him, but to be *Glen Co'd* for your Pains? *Qui Glencoat, Glencoatitur*.—You have brought all his Sins to Remembrance. The *Dewitting* in *Holland* was almost forgot.—You have pretty good Experience of his Temper, or you may have. But if he suffer you to live to see another *Revolution*, you may plead *Merit*: For all his Enemies have not render'd him so *Black*;  
fo

## 62 The Massacre of GLENCO.

so effectually *proved* and *demonstrated* it to the World, as your Management has done. He is happy to his Ministers! At least very justly serv'd by them!

He wants but a good *Historian*, that he may not lose his Character to After-ages. And *Secretary*, you cannot do better than to recommend your Uncle to that Office. He'll do it deliciously; he'll either find or make Parallels to him out of *ancient Histories* (for he'll find none among the *modern*, especially in these *Countries*) and make him (I'll warrant you) excel them all. And among the rest, I would recommend one to him, that fits the present Case so exactly, that you would think one was copied out from the other, and it is as follows.

‘*Gallienus*, ut erat *Nequam & Perditus*; ita etiam, ubi necessitas coegisset, *velox, furibundus, ferus, vehemens, Crudelis*—In omnes *Messiacos* tam *Milites* quam *Cives* asperrime seviit: Nec quemquam suæ *Crudelitatis* exortem reliquit: Usque adeo *Asper & Truculentus* ut plerasq; *Civitates vacuas a virili sexu* reliquerit.

‘Extat sane *Epistola Gallieni* quam ad *Celerem Verianum* Scripsit, qua ejus *Nimietas crudelitatis* ostenditur: Quam Ego idcirco interposui, ut omnes intelligerent, hominem *Luxuriosum crudelissimum* esse si necessitas postulet.

GALLIENUS VERIANO. *Non mihi satisfacies, si tantum Armatos trucidaris, quos & sors Belli interimere potuisset. Perimendus est omnis sexus Virilis, si & Senes atq; Impuberes sine Reprehensione nostra Occidi possent. Occidendus est quicunq; malevoluit. Occidendus est quicunq; maledixit contra me, contra Valeriani filium, contra tot Principum Patrem & Fratrem, Ingenius factus*

est

## The Massacre of GLENCO. 63

*est Imperator. Lacera, Occide, Concide: Animum meum intelligere potes, mea Mente irascere qui hæc Manu mea scripsi. Trebell. Pollion. Trigint. Tyrann. de Inganuo.*

This is the Description of *Gallienus*, a *Cruel*, and a *Bloody Tyrant*: And here is the Copy of some Instructions he sent to *Verianus*, an Officer of his, about just such another *Massacre* as *Glenco*, which he wrote, or *sign'd* with his own Hand; Wherein he commands him, to put all to the Sword, All that durst *Speak* or *Think* against him, as well *Old* as *Young*; he bid him *Plunder*, *Kill*, *Tear*; and that it would not please him if he Kill'd only those in *Arms* against him, but All of the *Masculine Sex*.

Here was a great deal of *Do*, and many Words about it! But our milder Order bids only *EXTIRPATE*, and that not this or that Body, or making Distinctions of *Old* or *Young*, *Men* or *Women*—What need all that *Cookery*! But only *The Whole TRIBE: That was all!* He scorn'd to except the pitiful *Women*, as *Gallienus* did. What need *They* be *Excepted*? Why! He excepted no Body! Short Work's best—and few Words—And as the *Answer to Great-Britain's just Complaint*, Publish'd by Authority, 1692. Says, p. 37. in Vindication of *W. R.* as to this of *Glenco*, *A milder Order was never given.* And he says that his Majesty *has Express'd a High Displeasure at it.* It was *High* indeed; for we never heard of it before. Nor are we like to hear of it, that I can see: For all the Officers who *Commanded*, or who *Executed* it, are still in their respective Posts, unless advanc'd. Nor have we heard that so much as an *ill Word* has been said by Him to any one of them,

But

## 64 The Massacre of GLENCO.

But this we know, by that *Answer to Great-Britain's Just Complaint*, that *W. R.* cannot plead Ignorance, that there was a great Clamour about the Massacre of *Glenco*, *three Years ago*: And that he has taken no Notice of it all this Time; nor now, till it was first started in *Parliament*; and that then, what he did, was, as much as he could, to take it out of the Hands of the *Parliament*, and by all his Might and Main, to stifle, or, at least, to baffle it. And that it has been baffled. And this horrible Addition is thereby made to the Guilt of that *Murder*; That whereas none were answerable for it before, except only *Gallienus* and his *Verianuses*, with their Accomplices, it is now become a *national Guilt* (so far as the *Parliament* are the Representatives of the People) by the *Parliament's* making *Gallienus's* Instructions sufficient to justify *Verianus* in his Execution of them. Whereby they justify the whole *Murder*, and bring it upon their own *Heads*, and upon the *Heads* of their *Children*. For if *Gallienus* had no Power by *Law*, to send such *Instructions*, they could be no *Justification* to *Verianus*: But now that *Parliament* has voted that such *Instructions* are a *Justification* of *Verianus*; and therefore they have yielded that *Gallienus* has, by *Law*, a Power to send such *Instructions*; and that they ought to be *obey'd*. And then, *Lord have Mercy upon us!*

But to bring our Story to an End; there is one noble Stroke of Secretary *Johnston's* behind, whereby he thinks he has wiped his Master clean, from all Imputation of the Massacre of *Glenco*; and that is, he has perswaded Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton* (whose Order to *Duncanson* is in the aforesaid Narrative) to *abscond* for some Time;  
and



## The Massacre of GLENCO. 65

and then to slip over to K. W. in *Flanders*; which he has done. This shews as if he was more guilty than the rest. He is made the *Scape-goat*, and all this Sin laid upon his Head. But if *Hill* gave his Orders to his Lieutenant-Colonel *Hamilton* (which he avers in his Order to *Duncan*) Why was it more Criminal in *Hamilton* to hand down his Colonel's Orders to the next Subaltern?

And why must *Glenlyon*, and the others who actually committed that horrid *Massacre*, and are now in their respective Commands in *Flanders*, Why should these be excused?

O! No! They are not excused, for as in the Gazette 18th July 1695, the Parliament in *Scotland* has made a fierce *Vote* against them, viz. That his Majesty be address'd to send them home to be prosecuted for the same, Or Not? As his Majesty shall think fit, — OR NOT! This is as Civil as Heart could wish! And whether this *Address* was sent, or Not; whether it was trusted to Secretary *Johnston* to send it, or Not, is all One; for instead of sending them home to be tried, *Hamilton* is sent to them: And in Justice we are to suppose that due Care will be taken, That in this Campaign, they shall either be killed, taken, or desert. And then if we had them again, how we would hang the Rogues.

K

A N



A N

## A C C O U N T

O F

## DUNDEE'S OFFICERS,

*After they went to FRANCE.*

**A**LL Hopes of serving King *James* in the *Highlands* of *Scotland* being lost, his Officers, in Obedience to his Commands, capitulated with the Government at *Edinburgh*, to be sent to *France*, which accordingly was perform'd, and on their Landing, they were sent to *Lisle*, *Burburgh*, *Arras*, and other Towns in the *French Flanders*, where they were subsisted according to the different Commissions and Characters they bore in *Scotland*; and notwithstanding the King of *France's* Misfortunes at *La Hogue* and *Chirburgh*, where his Fleet was burnt, he still generously continued them on the same Footing as before, until *Sept.* 1692. The Officers considering, that by the Loss of the *French* Fleet, King *James's* Restoration would be retarded for some time, and that they were burdensome to the King of *France*, being entertained in Garrisons on whole Pay, without doing Duty, when he had almost all *Europe* in Confederacy against him; therefore

therefore humbly entreated King *James* to have them reduced to a Company of private Centinels, and chuse Officers amongst themselves to Command them; assuring His Majesty, that they would serve in the meanest Circumstances, and undergo the greatest Hardships and Fatigues that Reason could imagine, or Misfortunes inflict, until it pleas'd God to restore Him. King *James* commended their Generosity and Loyalty, but disapprov'd of what they propos'd, and told them, it was impossible that Gentlemen who had serv'd in so honourable Posts as formerly they enjoy'd, and liv'd in so great Plenty and Ease, could ever undergo the Fatigue and Hardships of Private Centinels Duty. Again, that his own first Command was a Company of Officers, whereof several died, others wearied with the Fatigue, drew their Discharges, till at last it dwindled into nothing, and he got no Reputation by the Command; therefore he desir'd them to insist no more on that Project. The Officers (notwithstanding His Majesty's Desire to the contrary) made several Interests at Court, and harass'd him so much, that at last he condescended, and appointed Col. *Thomas Brown*, Captain; Col. *Alexander Gordon*, and Col. *Andrew Scott*, Lieutenants, and Major *James Buchan*, Ensign, to the Company of Officers. I'm heartily sorry those Gentlemen have given me no Opportunity of speaking well of them. It was their ill Conduct, particularly *Brown's* Avarice, that ruin'd the Company; for they got a Command which they never expected, and knew as little how to use, as they deserv'd it. The noble Earl of *Dumferling*, a Gentleman whose Loyalty, like his Honour, admitted no Rival, was propos'd by the Officers to command: But King *James* being

unwilling to want so good Counsel, and the Court of *St. Germain's* never being without Parasites, made his Lordship decline the Post, to the great Detriment of the Gentlemen, and King James's Interest. Now a Rout is ordered by the Court of *Versailles*, and brought to *St. Germain's*, and about Seventy of the Officers, under the Command of Col. *Brown*, Col. *Gordon*, and Major *Buchan*, being review'd in the Garden, he made a Speech to them after this Manner.

*King James's Speech to the Scots Officers  
in the Garden of St. Germain's.*

GENTLEMEN,

**M**Y own Misfortunes are not so nigh my Heart as Yours; it grieves me beyond what I can express, to see so many brave and worthy Gentlemen, who had once the Prospect of being the Chief Officers in my Army, reduced to the Stations of private Centinels. Nothing but your Loyalty, and that of a few of my Subjects in Britain, who are forced from their Allegiance by the Prince of Orange, and who, I know, will be ready on all Occasions, to serve me and my distressed Family, could make me willing to live. The Sense of what all of you have done and undergone for your Loyalty, hath made so deep an Impression in my Heart, that if ever it please God to restore me, it is impossible I can be forgetful of your Services and Sufferings. Neither can there be any Posts in the Armies of my Dominions, but what you have just Pretensions to. As for my Son, your Prince, he is of your own Blood, a Child capable of any Impressions, and as his Education will be from you, it is not supposable that he can forget your Merits.

At



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*At your own Desires you are now going a long March, far distant from me; I have taken Care to provide you with Money, Shoes, Stockings, and other Necessaries. Fear God, and love one another: Write your Wants particularly to me, and depend upon't always to find me your Parent and King.*

Having thus ended his most Gracious Speech, His Majesty ask'd every particular Officer his Name, and writ it down in his Pocket-Book; then made them a Bow, with his Hat in his Hand, pray'd God to bless and prosper them, and so left them.

About a Month after, Colonel *Brown* went from *St. Germain's*, Colonel *Scot* with about fifty Officers under his Command, who had receiv'd the like Compliment from King *James* in the Garden of *St. Germain's*, and march'd after him. The Distance from *St. Germain's* to *Perpignan* in *Roussillon*, where the Rout ended, is about nine hundred Miles.

The civil Deportment and generous Tempers of the Officers, as well as their Characters and Misfortunes, engaged all the Consuls, leading Men, and others, in the Towns and Villages they pass'd thro', to love, respect, and billet them on the richest People in the Place; and every Morning before they march'd, usually the young Ladies in the Town were walking on the Parade to see them; for they always gain'd the Favours of their Landladies and their Daughters.

There was nothing remarkable in the Routs to *Catalonia*, but that two Leagues from *Moupelier*, near the River *Rhoan*, four of Col. *Scot's* Officers, wading a Rivulet, which had been swell'd by Rains, from the Mountains, were violently carry'd

ry'd down; but catching hold of some Bushes, they kept their Heads above Water: And tho' there were Hundreds of the Country People on both Sides of the Rivulet looking on, they never offer'd their Assistance, only waiting when they should be drown'd, to get their Cloaths and Money; such is the Barbarity of these mix'd *Catalonian French*. At last some of their Comarades came with Ropes and help'd them out.

At *Revofaltes*, within two Leagues of *Perpignan*, one of the Officers was quartered on a Farmer, he desired his Supper, and to see his Bed, as is usual for Soldiers in *France*. His Landlord, Landlady, and Servants fell upon him, beat him unmercifully, and threaten'd to murder him if he made any Noise. The next Day, when they came to *Perpignan*, Col. *Scot* made a Complaint to *Sbaferon*, Lieutenant-General and Governor of *Roussilion*, who immediately sent his *Aid-de-Camp* to the Gentleman affronted, to beg his Pardon, in the King of *France's* Name, for the barbarous Usage he met with, and assured him he should have all imaginable Satisfaction: Two Days afterwards, all the Furniture in the Farmer's House was carried to the Market-Place and burnt, and himself burnt in the Hand and banish'd *France*; which shews what Respect the King and Court of *France* bear to the Officers of the Army.

When Colonel *Scot* with his Officers came to *Perpignan*, they drew up in a Rank before Lieutenant-General *Sbaferon's* House, where all the Ladies of Quality in the Town, assembled, and wept bitterly to see so many worthy Gentlemen, for their Loyalty and Honour, reduced to the unhappy Station of private Centinels; and it was boldly asserted by several Citizens, that the Gentlewomen

## Dundee's Officers in France. 71

the women made a Purse of 200 Pistoles for the Officers, who never heard any thing of the Matter. Colonel *Scot* march'd from *Perpignan* to *Cannes*, on the Mediterranean, and join'd Colonel *Brown*, who lay there with his Officers; then the Company was formed, and the Officers received their Arms and Cloaths, and were most industrious in practising the Exercise of that Country; which, with their modest Behaviour, and Patience under their Sufferings, recommended them so much to the Officers of the *French Army*, that they shewed them more Respect than actually belong'd to their former Commissions, and were often pleased to declare, that a Detachment from all the Officers in *France*, could not parallel that Company. About this Time the Gentlemen had spent all their Money; and Three-pence a Day, with one Pound and a Half of Bread, which is *French Pay*, was too little to support Men of their Quality, who formerly had lived in so great Plenty and Affluence. Therefore they were forc'd, in Regard to the Honour of their Country, and the Commissions they formerly bore, and for the Necessaries and Supplies their present ill Circumstances requir'd, to sell, at *Perpignan*, their Scarlet Cloaths, lac'd and embroider'd Waistcoats, Holland Shirts, Watches, and Rings, so that in very few Weeks, no Officer in the *French Army*, nor Burgesses in the City, of any Distinction, was in Esteem, if he wanted an *English Watch* in his Fob, or a Suit of Scarlet Cloaths. The Ladies bought their Rings; and when their Money fell short, the Officers were so generous as to exchange them for Hair Ones. This Market continu'd from *November 1692*, to the 1st of *May 1693*, when they went to Camp.

All

All that Time no Gentlemen on Earth lived more agreeably and delightfully than they. The Wine was good and cheap, and their Merchandise procur'd them Money and Mistresses. About the Middle of *March* Major *Rutherford's* Company, and Captain *John Foster's* Veteran Troops of *Dumbarton's* Regiment, join'd the Company of Officers at *Canet*, where nothing but loyal Healths and honourable Schemes were drank and projected for the King's Restoration, and Preparations made for the ensuing Campaign.

The three Companies, before they march'd to Camp, were ordered to be review'd before *Mareschal de Noailles* and his Court at *Perpignan*, in their Soldiers Cloaths; and that Morning before they march'd from *Canet*, it was both wanton and melancholy to see the Company of Officers, so many loyal and worthy Gentlemen their Half-Picks turned into Firelocks, and their Gorgets and Sashes into Cartouch-Boxes and Haversacks: As for Knapsacks they wanted none; for the Linnen-Market of *Perpignan* had eased them of that Trouble. When the three Companies were reviewed by *Mareschal de Noailles* and His Court, his Excellency desir'd the Company of Officers to march a second time by him, and was so well pleased with their Appearance, that he presented them with a Mule to carry their Tents, that cost him fifty Pistoles. At this Review, the *Miquelet* Officers, and the Burgeesses of *Perpignan* attended the *Mareschal*, and made a very handsome Appearance in the Cloaths and Linnen they had bought from the Officers, who modestly smiling, said one to another, *See what a Parade these Cuckolds make in our old Cloaths*. That Night the three Companies returned to *Canet*, where they stay'd

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## Dundee's Officers in France. 73

stay'd some Days ; whence on the 1st of May, 1693, they march'd to Camp, and pass'd the *Pyrenean* Mountains ; and on the 20th of the same Month they invest'd *Roses*. The Company of Officers suffered very much in that March ; for they were obliged to carry their Bread, Kettles, Tent Poles and Pins, with the other Utensils of Centinels ; and Camp Duty was harder on them, than any Cohor in the Army ; for they always mounted Double Complements to all Partizan, Volunteer, and Foraging Parties ; especially when there was any Probability of engaging the Enemy ; As for Quarter Guards, Piquet and Advanc'd, they were only their Diversion and Hours of Rest.

In the Valley of *Lamparda*, where *Roses* is situated, the Water is muddy, and scarce, and the Climate suppos'd by the *Spaniards* to be very unhealthful to the *French*, and when King *Charles II.* of *Spain* heard *Mareschal de Noailles* with his Army was there, he told publicly at Court, he wanted no Army to fight them. The Company of Officers lying under all the Inconveniencies that an over-hot Air, unagreeable with their Constitutions, and bad Water could bring upon them, having also nothing to eat but *Sardinas*, Horse-Beans, and Garlick, and little or no Money, many of them were thrown into Fevers and Fluxes ; but before I acquaint you with their Misfortunes of that Nature, I beg Leave to give a List of their Names.

Lieutenant *Adam Urquhart*.

Lieutenant *Alexander Elphinston*.

Captain *Alexander Gordon*.

Colonel *Alexander Maitland*.

Captain *Alexander Mackenzie*.

L

Ensign

Ensign *Alexander Poplar.*  
 Captain *Alexander Ramsay.*  
 Captain *Alexander Sinclair.*  
 Captain *Alexander Trottar.*  
 Lieutenant *Alexander Urquhart, Corporal.*  
 Ensign *Allan Macklane.*  
 Lieutenant *Andrew Simpson, Corporal.*  
 Ensign *Aeneas Mackdonald.*  
 Lieutenant *Archibald Langlins.*  
 Lieutenant *Arthur Arneil.*  
 Major *Charles Erskin.*  
 Lieutenant *Charles Lermont.*  
 Captain *Charles Patin.*  
 Captain *Collin Campbell.*  
 Ensign *Daniel Vipers.*  
 Lieutenant *David Bane.*  
 Captain *David Carmichall.*  
 Lieutenant *David Drummond.*  
 Captain *David Arneil.*  
 Lieutenant *Donald Bane, Serjeant.*  
 Captain *Duncan Camron.*  
 Lieutenant *Edward Davison.*  
 Lieutenant *Francis Gordon, Serjeant.*  
 Captain *George Buchan.*  
 Lieutenant *George Edwards.*  
 Lieutenant *George Heriot.*  
 Captain *George Drummond.*  
 Lieutenant *Hugh Sutherland.*  
 Lieutenant *James Gray.*  
 Captain *James Henderson.*  
 Lieutenant *James Henderson.*  
 Captain *James Innes, Corporal.*  
 Lieutenant *James O Bryan.*  
 Captain *James Montgomery.*  
 Captain *James Clark.*  
 Lieutenant *James Oswald.*

Lieutenant

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Lieutenant *James Toucks.*  
Lieutenant *John Caruthers.*  
Captain *John Dunbar.*  
Captain *John Hamilton.*  
Captain *John Arnut.*  
Captain *John Gray.*  
Captain and Engineer *John Hepburn.*  
Lieutenant *John Oglethorp.*  
Captain *John Riddel.*  
Lieutenant *John Paterson.*  
Captain *John Sinclair.*  
Captain *John Mackintosh.*  
Captain *John Ogilvie.*  
Lieutenant *John Mewrice.*  
Captain *Joseph Brody.*  
Captain *Isaac Thrycle.*  
Captain *Kennet Urquhart.*  
Lieutenant *Laurence Drummond.*  
Lieutenant *Laurence Wallace.*  
Lieutenant *Patrick Cunningham.*  
Lieutenant *Patrick Dickson.*  
Captain *Patrick Grabame.*  
Lieutenant *Patrick Grabame.*  
Lieutenant *Patrick Ogilvie.*  
Lieutenant *Philip Hamilton.*  
Captain *Robert Arbuthnot.*  
Lieutenant *Robert Barclay.*  
Lieutenant *Robert Maxwell.*  
Lieutenant *Robert Killock.*  
Colonel *Robert Somervell.*  
Lieutenant *Robert Pierce.*  
Lieutenant *Robert Keeth.*  
Lieutenant *Robert Barclay.*  
Captain *Samuel Maxwell.*  
Captain *Samuel Windrom.*  
Lieutenant *Stephen Sexon.*

Lieutenant *Thomas Clark*.  
 Lieutenant *Thomas Ogilvy*.  
 Captain *Walter Achmuty*.  
 Captain *Walter Nisbet*.  
 Lieutenant *William Collins*.  
 Captain *William Maxwell*.  
 Lieutenant *William Culbert*.  
 Colonel *William Davison*.  
 Captain *William Innes*.  
 Lieutenant *William Minzies*.  
 Captain *William Main*.  
 Lieutenant *William Lyon*, Serjeant.  
 Lieutenant *William Plummer*.  
 Lieutenant *William Shewen*.  
 Captain *William Cunningham*.  
 Lieutenant *William Boyd*.  
 Lieutenant *William Bruce*.  
 Captain *William Ramsay*.  
 Captain *William Robinson*.

Though many of the Gentlemen had Fevers and Fluxes yet no Arguments that Major-General *Wachop* and the *Irish* Officers could use, were prevalent enough to persuade them to go to *Perpignan* Hospital; but they would continue in Camp, and do their Duty, which was very hard; for there were no Pioneers in the Army, which obliged the Soldiers to cut Wood, and make Fascines to cast up Trenches, and raise all the Batteries against the Town.

The *Spaniards* are much accusom'd to Pickeering; who having Intelligence, as it was believed in the *French* Army, when the Company of Officers mounted the Trenches with some Detachments of the *Irish*, they sally'd out of the Town several Times into a Field of Barley, where they

were



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were boldly attack'd by an equal Number of Officers, who repuls'd them three several Times to the Draw-Bridge in the View of their Garrison, and *French* Army. A *French* Major-General being present, ask'd Colonel *Scot* who commanded the Trenches, why these Men always attack'd the Enemy, and not the others; who told him, that these were of the Company of *Scotch* Officers, the others *Irish*: The Major-General smiling ask'd his Pardon, and said, he had often heard that *Scotland* and *Ireland* were two distinct Kingdoms, but never knew the Difference till now. On the 27th of *May*, the Company of Officers, and other *Scotch* Companies, were join'd by two Companies of *Irish*, to make up a Battalion in order to mount the Trenches, and the major Part of the Officers list'd themselves in the Company of Grenadiers, under the Command of the brave Major *Rutherford*, who on his Way to the Trenches, in Sight of *Mareschal de Noailles*, and his Court, march'd with his Company on the Side of the Trench, which expos'd him to the Fire of a Battalion, where there were two Culverins, and several other Guns planted; likewise to the Fire of two Curtains lin'd with Small-Shot. Colonel *Brown* following with the Battalion, was oblig'd in Honour to march the same Way Major *Rutherford* had done; the Danger whereof the *Mareschal* immediately perceiving, ordered one of his *Aid-de-Camps* to command *Rutherford* to march under Cover of the Trench, which he did; and if it had been delay'd six Minutes, the Grenadiers and Battalion had been cut in Pieces. *Rutherford*, with his Grenadiers, march'd to a Trench next the Town, and the Battalion to a Trench on the Rear and Flank of the Grenadiers, who fir'd

so

so incessantly on the Besieged, that they thought (the Breach being practicable) they were going to make their Attacks, immediately beat a Chamade, and were willing to give up the Town on reasonable Terms; but the *Mareschal's* Demands were so exorbitant, that the Governor could not agree to them. Then Firing began on both Sides to be very hot; and they in the Town seeing how the Grenadiers lay, kill'd eight of them; the bold Captain *William Ramsay* was shot through both Legs, and died in two Days; and the brave Major *Rutherford*, along the Back, and died in three Days. When the Governor surrendered the Town, he inquir'd of the *Mareschal*, what Country Men these Grenadiers were; and assur'd him, 'twas on their Account he delivered up the Town, because they fir'd so hotly, that he believ'd they were resolv'd to attack the Breach: Who answer'd smiling, *Ce sont mes Enfants*, They are my Children. Again, They are the King of *Great-Britain's* Scotch Officers, who shew their Willingness to share of his Miseries, have reduced themselves to the carrying of Arms, and chosen to serve under my Command. The next Day, when the *Mareschal* rode along the Front of the Camp, he halted at the Company of Officers Piquet, and they all surrounded him. Then, with his Hat in his Hand, he thanked them for their good Services the Trenches, and freely acknowledged it was their Conduct and Courage that obliged the Governor to give up the Town; and assur'd them he would acquaint his Master with the same, which he accordingly did; for when his Son arriv'd with the News at *Versailles*, the K. having read the Letter, immediately took Coach to *St. Germain's*; and when he

had

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had shewn King *James* the Letter, he thanked him for the Services his Subjects had done in taking *Roses* in *Catalonia*, who with Concern reply'd, They were the Stock of his *British* Officers, and that He was sorry He could not make better Provision for them.

At this Time, *Mareschal de Noailles* was so generous and kind to the Officers, that he gave every one of them a Pistol, two Shirts, a Night-cap, two Cravats, and a Pair of Shoes, which Col. *Brown* distributed as he thought fit; to some he gave a Pistol, without any of the above-specify'd Necessaries; to others a Pair of Shoes, to others a Shirt, and to some nothing: All this, as it was surmis'd by the Officers, was done by Col. *Scot's* Advice; King *James* likewise gave every Officer five Pence *per Diem*, which was paid monthly, from which *Brown* made always some Deductions, for Shoes, Stockings, Shirts, broken Swords, Fuzils, or some other Necessaries the Gentlemen wanted, though the King of *France* allows his Soldiers Half-Mounting, and every Captain fifty Pistols to make his Campaign. All the Favours the Officers received from King *James* and *Mareschal de Noailles*, could not preserve their Health, but they fell sick every Day of Fevers, Agues, and Fluxes, of which the *Mareschal* being informed, he desired them to leave the Camp, and chuse their own Garrison, who humbly thanked his Excellency for his kind Offer, but withal told him, They came not to that Country to lie within old rotten Walls, when the King of *France* (who was so kind to their Master) had Business in the Field; therefore begged his Excuse, and would not leave the Camp while one Man of them was alive. About the  
Middle

Middle of *June*, 1693, the Army march'd from *Roses* to *Piscador*, where 10000 did not arrive in the Camp, of 26000, but were left on the Way, by reason of the extraordinary Heat, and want of Water. The Generals being afraid the *Spanish* Army should attack their Rear, order'd all the Piquet to be drawn out immediately, and to march; but the greatest Part of the Army not being come up to the Ground, the Corporals could not get their Complements to the Piquets; in this Accident, all the Company of Officers that were in the Camp, mounted for their Comrades and march'd to the Parade of the Piquet, where the Generals seeing only that Piquet of the Officers in Readiness and good Order, said one to another, *Le Gentilhomme est toujours Gentilhomme, & se montre toujours tel dans le Besoin, & dans le Danger*: Gentlemen are Gentlemen, and will always shew themselves such in Time of Need and Danger. About the Middle of *July* they repast some of the *Pyrenees*, and cantoned in *Ville France*, at the Foot of Mount *Canigo*, till about the 20th of *August*, when they marched to Mount *Escu*, where Major General *Wachop*, with some *Irish* Troops, went to *Savoy*. Afterwards they made a second Campaign on the Plains of *Cerdanna*, and on the 1st of *November* returned to *Perpignan*, where they staid twelve Days, thence march'd to *Tourellers* for Winter Quarters, where they received a Rout to march to *Alsace*, which was procured by the Interest of the Officers Friends and Acquaintances at *St. Germain*, who heard of their Sickness in *Catalonia*, and made Intercession with King *James* to have them removed to another Province that was more healthful and agreeable to their Constitutions, which they thought to be *Alsace*,



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*Alsace*, by Reason of its Coldness, which proved worse, as will afterwards appear, but before we leave *Catalonia*, I beg Leave to give you a List of the Names of the Officers that died of the natural Diseases of the Country, and by the Fatigues and Hardships of the Campaign.

In *Perpignan* Hospital died,

Captain *John Sinclair*.

Captain *John Dunbar*.

Lieutenant *William Culbert*.

Lieutenant *Thomas Gordon*.

Lieutenant *William Bruce*.

Lieutenant *Archibald Langlins*.

Captain *Edward Murryman*.

Captain *James Henderson*.

Lieutenant *George Edwards*.

Lieutenant *David Bane*.

Captain *Charles Patin*.

Lieutenant *William Lyon*, Serjeant.

Lieutenant *James Gray*.

Captain *Duncan Camron*.

Lieutenant *Edward Cockeran*.

Lieutenant *David Drummond*.

Captain *Samuel Windrom* died at *Tourelles*.

Captain *John Keith*, } died at *Colliver*.

Lieut. *Alex. Urquhart*, }

Here is plainly seen the Difference between Gentlemen who are tenderly and plentifully brought up, and the poorer Sort, who are pinch'd of all Necessaries: The other two Companies, who were all *Scotchmen*, had less Pay, and did equal Duty with the Company of Officers, lost not four Men the whole Campaign, whereas the Company of Officers, for want of good Eating

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and Drinking, Cloaths, Linnen and other Necessaries, and by the extraordinary Fatigues of Guards and Marches, were thrown into *Fluxes* and *Fevers* that carry'd them off.

The Rout from *Catalonia* to *Alsace*, after this Loss, no doubt was acceptable to the Officers, but surprizing to *Mareschal de Noailles*, who had used them with so much Kindness: He immediately sent for Colonel *Brown*, and shew'd him his Orders to march, and desired *Brown* to inform him, on his Honour, if the Gentlemen had receiv'd any Affront from him or his Officers, he would make them all imaginable Satisfaction, and farther declared, it was his Resolution to provide for them all in his Army, according to the Posts they had enjoyed under King *James*, and that he never had Troops under his Command he respected so much as them, and was heartily sorry to part with them; but the King's Orders must be obey'd.

On the 4th of *December*, 1693, The Company of Officers with the other two *Scotch* Companies, began their March, from *Tureilles* in *Roussillon* to *Silistad* in *Alsace*: As for the Gentlemen, in many Respects, they were very fit for that March, for the Market of *Perpignan* eas'd them of that Trouble they us'd to have in hiring Mules for their Baggage, that when they left the Country, the most frugal of them could carry his Equipage in a Handkerchief, and many had none at all: And the Fatigues and Hardships of the Campaign had reduced their Bodies so low, that many of them look'd rather like Shadows and Skeletons than Men; their Coats were old and thin, many of their Breeches wanted Lining, and their Stockings and Shoes were tore and wore in Pieces, so that by the Time they came to *Lyons*, where they

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they kept their *Christmas*, their Miseries and Wants were so many and great, that I am ashamed to express them; yet no Man that conversed with them, could ever accuse them of a disloyal Thought, or the least Uneasiness under their Misfortunes. When they got over their Bottles (which was but seldom) their Conversation was of Pity and Compassion for the King and Young Gentleman, and how his Majesty might be restored without any Prejudice to his Subjects.

Notwithstanding all these Misfortunes, which the Officers were under, Colonel *Brown* left them at *Roman* in *Dauphiny*, and went to *St. Germain*, without giving any of them a Farthing to buy the Necessaries they wanted, tho' he had above two Months Gratification-Money (as they called it) from King *James* at five Pence *per Diem* to every Officer; such was the ill Fortune of those worthy Gentlemen, to have a Person of such ill Principles to command them. Three Days after they marched from *Lyons*, thro' the Country of *Brace*, a Storm of Snow fell three Foot deep, and covered the Ground until the latter End of *February*, so that as they marched thro' the Confines of *Burgundy*, the *French County*, and Part of *Alsace*, where there was a Famine, and great Scarcity of all manner of Provisions. The Frost and Cold was so vehement and piercing, and the King's Allowance in the Tap, so small, that the Officers were like to be starv'd with Hunger and Cold. Capt. *Alexander Sinclair* was left sick at *Briançon*, and there dy'd. On that March many of the Officers gave themselves over for lost, and dead Men; and how could it be otherwise, for they saw nothing as they pass'd, but a half-starv'd People in some Houses, and the rest empty.

When they arriv'd at *Silistad*, where they were to Garrison, The Governor, who was their Countryman, Town-Major, and the rest of the Officers of the Garrison, receiv'd them with incredible Civility, and invited several of them frequently to dine and sup with them; but it was so extremely cold, and all Sorts of Provision so excessive dear, that the Officers were obliged to open a second Market at *Silistad*, of Silver Handled Swords, Snuff-Boxes, Seals, Silver Buckles, Periwigs, and where-ever they came they had always a running Market of Ruffles, Cravats, Stockings, and the like. In the Beginning of the Tragedy, some us'd to say, This is the Seal of our Family; I got it from my Grandfather, therefore I'll never part with it; others, I got this Ring from my Mother or Mistress, I'll rather be damn'd than sell it: But when the Gentleman, *Poverty*, came amongst them, he carry'd off every thing fair and clean, without any Exception or Distinction, and all the Donors Returns, were their Healths toss'd about in a Bumper, with a Remnant of old Latin, *Necessitas non habet Legem*. At *Silistad* the Officers were in very great Want, Provisions dear, the Bread six Pence *per Pound*, and their Pay was but three Pence *per Diem*; so that all they could purchase was a few Horse-Beans, Turnips, Colwarts, or a little yellow Seed which they boil'd in Water, to keep Life and Soul together. They were certainly very religious, for they kept *Lent* all the Year round. Tho' their Sufferings and Hardships in *Alsace*, far exceeded any Misfortunes they met with in *Catalonia*, yet it was observ'd by all Strangers that conversed with them, that even in their greatest Extremities they never repin'd, nor accus'd



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cus'd K. *James* for his own, or their Calamities; but with a Primitive Christian Patience and Courage, humbly submitted themselves to Providence, knowing and believing that God was just, and would, at his appointed Time, establish the Royal Family in the Throne.

The only Friends the Company of Officers had along with them in their Travels, were Captain *Foster*, and Captain *Drycot*, who commanded the other two Companies; they often treated them, and supply'd them with Necessaries, as far as their Circumstances would permit; and I should not forgive myself if I forgot honest Captain *George Shyn*, who never let a Gentleman want a Dinner, nor a Bottle of Wine, when he had Money in his Pocket. As for Colonel *Brown*, *Gordon*, *Scot*, and Major *Buchan*, who cheated them of the Five-pence *per Diem*, that King *James* allowed them, it is not to be presum'd the Gentlemen often troubled their Tables. In *Silistad*, *June* 10, 1694, on the young Gentleman's Birth-Day, Colonel *Brown* invited many of the Officers to a Treat, and to drink the King, young Gentleman, and Queen's Healths, where some of them, particularly Lieutenant *Patrick Dickson*, told him frankly how ill he had used them; and that if His Majesty was rightly informed, he would lose his Commission, and be for ever banish'd the King's Presence. On this the Company broke up, and it became a very good Excuse afterwards for the Colonel, never to give a Tenth Day of *June's* Treat to any of the Company of Officers. That Year the Company of Officers, and the other two, lay in Garrison at *Silistad*, all that Campaign, because of their hard March from *Catalonia*, the Sickn<sup>ess</sup> that

that was amongst them, and their not being able to make up a Battalion. There died in *Silistad*,

Captain *William Main*,

Captain *David Carmichall*,

Ensign *Allan Maclane*,

Lieutenant *Turner*,

Lieutenant *Andrew Simpson*, Corporal,

All in the Company of Officers; and the News thereof being carried a second time to *St. Germain*, King *James*, who had always a paternal Tenderness for all his Subjects, especially for that Honourable Company of Loyalists, sent immediately Orders to Colonel *Brown*, to give as many of the Officers their Discharges, as pleased, and that they should make the best of their Way to *St. Germain*. Upon the receiving of His Majesty's Letter, the Colonel assembled the Company; and reading it to them, Jesuitically desired the Favour of the Gentlemen to stay six Months, till he had got Recruits from *Flanders* and *France*, for the Company; but all his Design was to have the Days short, and Roads deep, that they could not march; which Stratagem did not take; for they staid till *November*, and then the following Gentlemen, viz.

Captain *Collin Campbell*,

Captain *Robert Arbutnot*,

Captain *John Mackintosh*,

Captain *John Hamilton*,

Captain *Philip Hamilton*,

Captain *David Arneil*,

Captain *Walter Achmuty*,

Lieutenant *John Mewrice*,

Captain and Engineer *John Hepburn*,

Lieutenant

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Lieutenant *John Ogletborp*,  
Lieutenant *Robert Killoch*,  
Lieutenant *Patrick Dickson*,  
Lieutenant *John Paterson*,  
Captain *Isaac Thrycle*,

Demanded their Discharges, and went to *St. Germain's*, where they met with a gracious Reception from His Majesty, and had it put to their Choice, either to stay at *St. Germain's* upon a handsome Subsistence, or with other Officers, to have a Sum of Money to carry them to their own Country. But they stayed some Days at Court, without any Determination; in which Time the Young Gentleman went to *Marli*, for his Diversion; and, as is usual, took Coach at the Gate, where he saw four of the Company of Officers, whom he knew by their Soldiers Cloaths, and beckned to them. The Gentlemen made Haste, and all kneeling kiss'd his Hand, which was the second time. He told them he was sorry for their Misfortunes, and that he hop'd to live, to see His Majesty in a Condition to reward their Sufferings; as for himself, he was but a Child, and did not understand much; but according to the rude Notions he had of Government, and the Affairs of the World, they were Men of Honour, and loyal Subjects, and had by their Sufferings laid such Obligations upon him in his Childhood, that he could never forget them. When he had thus express'd himself, he gave them his Purse, and desir'd they would divide it amongst them, and go drink His Majesty and the Queen's Health; withal he told them he was sorry the Queen allow'd him no more Money. Then he went to his Coach, and they to the Prince of *Orange's* Head,

Head, Tavern, where they spoke no Treason, nor burnt Pretenders. There were ten Pistoles, and three Half-Crowns in the Purse; and after they divided the Money, there was like to be a Quarrel about the Purse, for the Sake of the Donor; the Noise whereof being immediately carry'd to Court, some of the Nobility sent a Footman, in the King's Name, for the Purse, which was sent, though His Majesty knew nothing of the Matter. Often afterwards, when the Young Gentleman, in his Walks in the Garden, saw any of the Officers, he gave them Pistoles, Half-Pistoles, or what Money he had about him, and desired them to go dine, and tell no Person he had given them any thing. When he dined, if he had not seen several of the Officers standing by his Table, he used to say, he admir'd where his *Scotch* Protestant Officers were, and confess, of all the Subjects that follow'd King *James*, he loved them best; as for Priests, he could never endure them; and when any stood by his Table, he used, with a stern and angry Countenance, to say, They had ruin'd his Father, but they should never serve him so. Observe that in all this Honourable Company of Officers, there were not four Roman Catholicks, but several young Protestant Divines, who, at the Revolution, when the Episcopal Clergy of *Scotland* were mobb'd and murder'd by the Presbyterians, went to the *Highlands* with *Dundee*, who for their good Services gave them Commissions, and after his Death went to *France*.

The Account the Officers gave King *James*, and the Court of *France*, of their Sufferings and ill Usage they received from Colonel *Brown*, together with some insolent Language he gave the

noble



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noble Earl of *Dumferling*, who was sacred to the Court, and the Officers, rendered him so ridiculous, that no Gentleman would converse with him. He had likewise a Rencounter with Captain *Robert Arbuthnot*, one of the Officers, at the Castle-Gate of *St. Germain's*, where both drew, and made several Pushes, but were prevented by the Guards; and when the Rencounter was examin'd by the Duke of *Powys*, *Brown* was ordered to beg *Arbuthnot* Pardon.

But the *Brown Fox*, whose Practices were agreeable to his Education, notwithstanding all the Ills he was guilty of, had yet a Hole to run into. He drew up a Certificate at *St. Germain's*, of the many Services he had done to the Officers, which he sent to *Silistad*, to Colonel *Scot* and Major *Buchan*, who prevailed with the Governor to assemble the Company, and desire them to subscribe it, which, by *Scot* and *Buchan's* Insinuations, a few did, and many did not. But when it was brought to *St. Germain's*, and presented to His Majesty, all the Officers Names in the Company were at it; whence some believ'd, and *Brown's* Friends positively affirm'd the Officers had been very much in the wrong to him, and that he had done them Justice, till Letters came from *Silistad* shewing the contrary; and that the major Part of the Officers had protested against it, particularly five or six *English* Gentlemen, who told the Governor, that King *James* allowed them Five-pence *per Diem* extraordinary; and that it was monthly paid to Colonel *Brown*, who never had accounted with them for it: Again, when *Roses* was taken, that *Mareschal de Noailles* gave every Officer in the Company, a Pistole, two Shirts, a Pair of Shoes, a Night-Cap, and two Cravats;

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and

and that *Brown* had given some Gentlemen the Pistole, but no Shirt nor Shoes; to others a Shirt, or Pair of Shoes, but no Pistole; so that he did with the *Mareschal's* Present what he pleased. Again, a Mule that cost *Mareschal de Noailles* 50 Pistoles, which he presented to the Officers to carry their Tents, was sold by Major *Buchan*, and he never accounted with them for the Money. Many other Grievances like unto these were exhibited to the Governor, who was both surprized and ashamed to appear in Colonel *Brown's* Behalf, so that Letters came from *Silistad*, shewing what Objections the Officers made to the Governor against the Certificate, and that not a third Part of the Gentlemen had subscribed it, upon which Colonel *Brown* was slighted by every Body, and order'd to his Command in *Silistad*: Afterwards all the Officers in the Company were exactly paid Ten-pence *per Diem*. The only material Thing that was transacted, while the Company of Officers, and the other two, were at *Silistad*, was, that in 1694, Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* with his Army of 80,000 Men, pass'd the *Rhine*, and staid three Weeks in *Alsace*, which he design'd to bring under Contribution. Then the three *Scotch* Companies, with a Battalion of *French*, and a Battalion of the *Namur* Regiment, were in Garrison in *Silistad*, where the Governor was apprehensive of a Siege, and was often pleas'd to declare publicly that if he was besieged, he depended more on the Service of these three Companies, particularly on that of the Officers, than he did on the two Battalions. But Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* receiving Intelligence that *Mareschal de Boufflers* was advancing with 15,000 Horse and Dragoons, left all his Baggage and

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and retreated in Confusion, broke his Bridges as he pass'd the *Rhine*, and drowned 3000 of his own Men; in the mean time there was 100 *Hussars* of his Army foraging and plundering in *Alsace*, and the next Day, when they came to their Camp, they were surprized to hear *French* Drums, and that their own Army were repass'd the *Rhine*, and they left on the *French* Side; but immediately resolv'd to march through *Alsace*, and make the best of their Way to *Basill*, whereof *Mareschal de Lorge* had Intelligence, and dispatch'd Couriers to all the Governors, to send out their Garrisons, and line all the Ways, through which they thought those *Hussars* might pass. The Governor of *Silistad*, being glad of an Opportunity to serve the Company of Officers, sent them to guard a Pass, where he knew the *Hussars* must infallibly come, who marching directly thither, were inform'd by a *Jew*, that if they advanc'd any farther, every Man of them would be either taken or kill'd; for there was a Company of the King of *Britain's* Officers that lay in wait for them; they immediately return'd to *Straßburg*, and gave themselves up Prisoners, where they declared, that if they could have pass'd that Company of Officers, they would not have been afraid of all the Garrisons in *Alsace*, but march'd quite through, and cross'd the *Rhine* at *Basill* in *Switzerland*. In *February*, 1695, the Company of Officers and the other two marched from *Silistad* to *Old Brisac*, whence the Company of Officers were sent to *Fort Cadette* in the *Rhine*, where they lay one Year and four Months: Thence they marched to *Straßburg*, and in *December*, 1697, General *Stirk* appeared with 16000 Men on the other Side of the *Rhine*, which

obliged the Marquess *de Sell* to draw out all the Garrisons in *Alsace*, who made up about 4000 Men, and he encamp'd on the other Side of the *Rhine*, over-against General *Stirk*, to prevent his passing the *Rhine*, and carrying a Bridge over into an Island in the Middle of the *Rhine*, which the *French* foresaw would be of great Prejudice to them, and that the Enemy's Guns planted on that Island, would extremely gall their Camp, which they could not hinder for the Deepness of the Water, and their wanting of Boats, for which the Marquess quickly sent, but coming too late, the *Germans* had carry'd a Bridge over into the Island, where they posted above 500 Men, who by the Orders of their Engineers, entrench'd themselves; which the Company of Officers perceiving, who always grasp'd after Honour, and scorn'd all Thoughts of Danger, resolv'd to wade the River, and attack the *Germans* in the Island; and for that Effect, desired Captain *John Foster*, who then commanded them, to beg of the Marquess, that they might have Liberty to attack the *Germans* in the Island, who told Captain *Foster*, when the Boats came up, they should be the first that attacked: *Foster* courteously thanked the Marquess, and told him, they would wade into the Island, who shrunk up his Shoulders, pray'd God to bless them, and desired them to do what they pleas'd. Captain *Foster* went immediately to the Company of Officers, who, with the other two, got privately to their Arms, it being under Night, and ty'd their Arms, Shoes and Stockings, about their Necks, advanced quietly to the Banks of the River, went softly in, and waded Hand in Hand, according to the *Highland* Fashion, where the Water was as high as their Breasts; and as soon



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soon as they pass'd the Depth of the River, they halted, unty'd their Cartouch-boxes and Firelocks (all this while the *Germans*, in the Island, were very busy in entrenching themselves) then they marched with rested Firelocks, and poured in a whole Volley of Shot on them; at which Surprise, the Enemy ran in Confusion, broke down their own Bridges, and several of them were drowned; the Officers pursuing them close, killed several of them. When the Marquess *de Sell* heard the Firing, and understood that the *Germans* were beat out of the Island, he made the Sign of the Cross on his Face and Breast, and declared publickly, that it was the bravest Action that ever he saw, and that his Army had no Honour by it.

As soon as the Boats came, the Marquess sent into the Island to acquaint the Officers, he would send them both Troops and Provisions, who thanked his Excellency, and desired he should be informed that they wanted no Troops, and could not spare Time to make Use of Provisions, and only desired Spades, Shovels, and Pickaxes, wherewith they might entrench themselves, which were immediately sent to them. The next Morning the Marquess came into the Island, and kindly embraced every Officer, and thanked them for the good Service they had done his Master, assuring them, he would write a true Account of their Honour and Bravery to the Court of *France*, which, at the reading his Letters, immediately went to *St. Germans*, and thanked King *James* for the Services his Subjects had done on the *Rhine*.

The Marquess gave every one of the Company of Officers a Pistole, and they encamp'd six Weeks  
on

on that Island, when it was covered with Snow, and there were no Fires to be kindled in the Night-time, neither durst any Man sleep under Pain of Death. General *Stirk* made several Attempts to surprize the Island, and pass the *Rhine*, but the Officers were so watchful, that all his Endeavours were in vain, so that he was forced to decamp, and retreat to the Country, and that Island is called at present, *Isle d'Escoffe*, and will in Likelihood bear that Name until the General Conflagration. Afterwards the Company of Officers, with the other two, returned to *Strasburg*, where they lay two Years in Garrison. In the Year 1696, a Party of *Hussars* passed the *Rhine*, above *Fort-Louis*, which the Marquess having Intelligence of, sent out the Company of Officers, who attack'd the *Hussars* in a Wood, and killed several of them, got a few Horses, and some Baggage: Then the *Hussars* immediately retreated over the *Rhine*; and this was the last Action of those Gentlemen, for in a few Weeks a Treaty of Peace was propos'd, and *K.W.* would agree to nothing until that Company of Officers was broke; and when the Peace was concluded, the three Companies marched from *Strasburg* to *Silistad*, where they were broke. The Company of Officers had Liberty to go where they pleas'd, but the other two Companies were join'd unto my Lord *Mallock's* Dragoons. Of that Company of Officers, there are not sixteen living.

And thus was dissolv'd one of the best Companies that ever marched under Command; Gentlemen, who in the Midst of all their Pressures and Obscurity, never forget they were Gentlemen, and whom the Sweets of a Brave, a Just, and an honourable Conscience, render'd perhaps  
more

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more happy, under those Sufferings, than the most  
Prosperous and Triumphant in Iniquity, since our  
Minds stamp our Happiness.

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more happy, under these 8 things, than the most Prosperous and Trimming and Flattering, since our  
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